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OF THE

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

RECORD OF UPLAND,

AND

DENNY'S MILITARY JOURNAL.



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MURAL TABLET.

In St. Paul's Church, Chester, Penna

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA



THE RECORD

OF THE

COURT AT UPLAND,

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

1676 TO 1681.

AND

A MILITARY JOURNAL,

KEPT BY

MAJOR E. DENNY,

1781 TO 1795.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.,
FOR THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
1860.

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RECORD

OF

UPLAND COURT;

FROM

THE 14TH OF NOVEMBER, 1676,

TO

THE 14TH OF JUNE, 1681.

EDITED BY EDWARD ARMSTRONG.

Record of Upland Court.

INTRODUCTION.

The Record of the Court at Upland now, through the kindness of Doctor J. Dickinson Logan, of Philadelphia, for the first time submitted to the public, is a document of much interest to the student of history.[1]

No one can read the proceedings of the earliest English tribunal on the soil of Pennsylvania, however simple its forms, and sometimes trifling the subjects of its judgments, without receiving a clearer impression of the condition of the people than any other known source of information can impart.

The attempts to plant colonies upon the Delaware proved to be failures until the Swedes, in 1638, established themselves upon its western bank, near the present site of Wilmington. Although the Dutch were the discoverers of the river, and gave to it its earlier appellation,[2] they had, to this period, failed to effect a permanent abode upon it.

[1] Extracts from the Record have been published by Mr. Watson, and by Mr. Hazard, in their Annals.

[2] The Delaware was called by the Dutch *Zuydt*, or South River, in contradistinction to the North River. The later appellation was bestowed in undeserved compliment to Lord de la War.

It is true, that on the eastern bank, at Timber Creek, below the present town of Gloucester, they erected Fort Nassau, yet this was established rather as a fortified trading-place, for the purpose of pursuing a barter with the Indians, than as the nucleus of a colony. This post, in addition to the reason assigned by Mr. Hazard, "because it was for many years considered by the Dutch a very desirable point to be maintained,"[1] is not historically without its interest as the site of the first European habitation within the limits of three States.

If the Dutch made no serious attempt to colonize the eastern shore, their enterprise was very early directed towards the western. It appears that the West India Company, within whose jurisdiction was embraced the whole of the river, with the view of promoting permanent colonization, determined, in 1629, by an "act of the Assembly of XIX,"[2] to grant a charter of "freedom and exemption[3] to all such as should plant any colonies in New Netherland." Those who were disposed to avail themselves of this privilege were, under certain restrictions, obliged to "plant a colony of fifty souls," and might occupy a territory of four Dutch[4] miles along a navigable river, and "as far into the country as their situation would permit," and received, among other feudal rights, the power of administering justice.

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[1] Hazard's Annals, 15.

[2] An Assembly of XIX Delegates, to whom was entrusted, by virtue of the Charter of the West India Company, the supervision and government of the Company. (O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherlands, i. 90.)

[3] Hazard's Ann., 21. [4] A Dutch mile was equal to four English.

Samuel Godyn having, through his agents, procured of the Indians in barter, a tract of land on the western shore, stretching from Cape Henlopen thirty-two English miles northward, by about two miles in breadth, claimed the grant of a patroonship, under the privileges of the Charter of Freedom and Exemptions, which has just been mentioned. It was conceded; and Godyn joined with himself, as Patroons, De Vries and others. In December, 1630, De Vries, with about thirty colonists, left the Texel, in prosecution of the enterprise, and arrived in the following March or April at their destination, afterwards called Hoerkill, now the site of Lewes, Delaware, and which they designated as "*Zwaanendael*," or the "Valley of the Swans." Here De Vries erected a fortified house, and leaving the colony in charge of Gilles Hosset, returned to Holland.[1]

The picturesque narrative of the skilful and enterprising voyager De Vries, details the melancholy fate of his friends, as it was afterwards told him by the natives, on the spot of their massacre. Hosset, it appears, misinterpreted into an offence the act of a chief, who had innocently removed the arms of the United Provinces, which had been painted and attached to a pillar as an emblem of possession. Dissatisfaction having been seriously expressed, the natives fancied that the alleged wrong was to be expiated only by their taking the life of the offender, which deed was revenged by the friends of the murdered chief, in the treacherous destruction of the entire colony; and thus ended the first attempt to colonize the western shore of

[1] Hazard's Annals, 25.

the Delaware.[1] In 1635, the territory with the "jurisdiction" of "Zwaanendael" were re-transferred to the West India Company.

William Usselincx,[2] a Brabant merchant residing in Zealand, the originator of the Dutch West India Company, so far succeeded in interesting Gustavus Adolphus, as to procure the establishment of the Swedish West India Company, the plan of which was confirmed in the Diet of 1627. The King had in view an amplification of its original privileges, but lost his life at Lutzen, before the accomplishment of what seemed a cherished purpose. His Chancellor, Oxenstierna, in 1633, carried out the wishes of the King, and appointed Usselincx the first Director of the Company.

Among the provisions of this charter bearing upon our inquiry was that which empowered the Company "to constitute a Council which, with its officers, should attend to the administration of justice, preservation of good laws, . . should appoint governors, directors, and judges, . . accommodate differences between the citizens of the country and the natives," . . .[3]

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[1] Voyages of De Vries, translated by Henry C. Murphy, and privately printed for Mr. James Lenox, pp. 23, 33; N. York, 1853.

[2] O'Callaghan's Hist. of N. Neth., i. 481. Hazard's Ann., 39. An account of this remarkable man and of his works may be found in G. M. Asher's "Bibliographical and Historical Essay of the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland," &c.; Amsterdam and New York, 1856. A book of no ordinary research and value. Hazard's Ann., 15.

[3] A synopsis of this charter may be found in Hazard's Ann., p. 20, obtained by him from a rare source, — the Argonautica Gustaviana — published by Usselincx in 1633; of which the only copy, supposed to be in this country, is in the Library of Harvard College. Mr. Asher suggests that a translation of this work would be an important service to American history.

The privileges of this charter were not invoked until the period of the organization of the first Swedish colony. In the mean while the Dutch were not discouraged by the failure of their attempt at Zwaanendael; and still maintaining their position at Nassau, a tract of land was, in 1633, under instructions, purchased by Arendt Corssen, on the opposite shore, at the Schuylkill, on which in the same year they erected Fort Beversrede. The readiness which the natives manifested to part with their territory was equalled only by their willingness to sell it again to any who might choose to purchase it.

The title thus acquired by Corssen, embraced the Schuylkill and "adjoining lands," — a convenient vagueness, which the Dutch, when so disposed, might, and probably did, construe to embrace the site of future Philadelphia.

In April, 1638, as already intimated, a colony of fifty Swedes arrived at the Delaware, under the direction of Peter Minuit, who, for nine years Director of the Dutch West India Company at Manhatten, had now enlisted in the service of Sweden. He immediately set about to build a fort and trading-post on the Minquas-kill, at the Creek, which, in compliment to the youthful Queen and promoter of the expedition, he named Christina. The colony of "New Sweden" struggled for existence, and probably would have perished, but for the arrival, in the spring of 1640, of a body of colonists from Gottenburg.[1]

The intention of sending this re-inforcement was announced in a letter from the Queen, dated 24th of January, 1640, addressed to the Commandant and inhabitants at Fort

[1] Hazard's Reg., iv. 177.

Christina, which also communicated the fact that she had granted to De Rehden and others the privilege of "establishing themselves on South River, and there founding a colony."[1]

This was a special grant to the people of Utrecht, and is a very curious circumstance in the history of the Delaware. That the Queen should have been willing, notwithstanding the claim of ownership by the Dutch, to grant to Hollanders special privileges, in exchange for a mere oath of allegiance, displayed much liberality on her part, and that of her advisers. Although it is not possible now to trace it, it is likely that the organization of this colony had an influence upon the measures which led to the subsequent loss of the country to the Swedes.

The privileges ceded were similar to those granted to Patroons — an hereditary fief; and it is the second instance — that to Godyn, from the Dutch, at Zwaanendael, being the first — of a concession of local jurisdiction. Among the benefits conferred was the right of exercising high and low justice and of founding cities. The Patroons were obliged to submit such statutes and ordinances as they desired to establish, to the Governor at Christina, who it appears had also some independent control over the affairs of the colony.[2] No very precise bounds were assigned to the grant; as much land below Christina was allowed to be taken as was necessary for the project, provided the limits did not approach nearer than four or five German miles of that place.

This colony was succeeded by the arrival at Christina,

[1] Hazard's Reg., iv. 177.

[2] Hazard's Ann., 52.

in 1642, of one still larger, under the command of Lieutenant John Printz, who was by the Queen commissioned as Governor of New Sweden. It was the most important and amply equipped which had as yet reached the Delaware. The suite which Printz brought with him, and his powers and appointments, were, under the circumstances, full and imposing. His instructions, doubtless from the hands of Oxenstierna, are minute, and exhibit great knowledge of affairs upon the river, combined with much shrewdness and practical sense.[1] They form the most important state-paper, yet discovered, relating to the settlement upon our shores, as connected with this period of our annals. Printz was instructed "to decide all controversies according to the laws, customs, and usages of Sweden; and that, as regarded police, government, and justice, they were to be administered in the name of her Majesty and the crown of Sweden."[2] During his term of service he appears to have enjoyed the confidence of his superiors. Choleric, and perhaps not sufficiently careful to observe that clause in his instructions which directed him "to preserve amity, good neighbourhood and correspondence with foreigners,"[3] it must, in justice, be said of him, that he acted with energy and ability, and that the charge of undue violence was made by the rivals of his government, — the English and Dutch — whose attempts to secure a further foothold he steadily resisted.

Printz proceeded to establish his government on the Island of Tinnicum, where he built a house for his own use, and also a fort, which he styled "*Gottenburg*." On the

[1] Hazard's Ann., 63. [2] Hazard's Reg., vol. iv. 221, sect. xxiv. [3] Id. 200.

Delaware, about three or four miles below Salem Creek, at a point known to this day as "Elsinburg Fort Point," he erected another stronghold, by which, as our annals show, he effectually commanded the river.[1]

In 1651, Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor, built near the present town of New Castle, a fort, which he called Casimir.[2]

The spot, not now precisely known, at which the people of Utrecht established themselves, under Swedish protection, was below Christina, — perhaps in the vicinity of Casimir; and the building of this fort may have been suggested by the previous existence of the Utrecht colony, and from that source an accession of strength may have been derived.

In the latter part of the year 1653, Printz sailed for Sweden, and left his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, in charge of affairs,[3] who was superseded, in the early part of 1654, by the arrival of Governor Risingh.[4]

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[1] Hazard's Ann., 71. [2] Id., 126. [3] Id., 142.

[4] The following incidents concerning Printz are derived from a note by Acrelius, at page 55 of his History of New Sweden, who gives as his authority, "*Matrickel ofwer Sweriges Rikes Riderskap och Adel, af Cancell.* R. Herr. *Anton Von Stiernman*, ar. 1754, p. 350, being a Register of Swedish Nobility." "*Prinz, Johan.*, ennobled July 20, 1642, confirmed in the order, 1643 — served in the Prussian and German war (the thirty-two years' war), advanced to the *Lieuteuant-Colonency* of the *West Gothia Cavalry*, May 28, 1638; — 1640, shamefully surrendered the Fort of Chemniz, without power or permission of the Field-Marshal, John Baner; went to Stockholm, where he was put in prison, but, giving bail, set at liberty, bound, however, to appear before a Court Martial, by which he was sentenced to be deprived of his employment, and the sentence confirmed by the Council of the Kingdom, Feb'y 17, 1641. Afterwards, Aug. 25, 1642, Governor of New Sweden, and returning home, was made Colonel and Governor of the government of Jonksping (Jonkioping in Prov. of

The instructions of Risingh counselled a spirit of the greatest forbearance and moderation; but they were not regarded.[1] His first act was the treacherous seizure of Casimir, which led to the invasion, in September, 1655, by Stuyvesant, of the Swedish possessions, and the downfall of that power upon our shores: not, however, without leaving some traces of its influence upon our laws and people. Printz was directed, before his departure from the country, "to establish a Council, formed of the best and most noble men in the country."

Upon the conquest by the Dutch, affairs assumed a more settled condition, and the administration of justice was

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Smalandia), 1658. Died, 1663, without male issue." Although, according to this statement, Printz lost his command because of a disgraceful surrender, yet it is difficult to reconcile his condemnation, as asserted by Von Stiernman, with his subsequent ennoblement, and the frequent and emphatic expressions, by the home government, of confidence in his zeal and fidelity while Governor of New Sweden, and his later promotion to the more important trust in Smalandia, without believing that after-proofs, if they did not entirely excuse, greatly extenuated his conduct. If Printz did his duty at the Delaware, the ministers did not do theirs at Stockholm. No Governor was so weakly upheld, and no colony, with such claims to sympathy and protection, was more badly treated. The dispatches sent by Printz were filled with earnest and oft-repeated prayers for relief; and no reader, after the lapse of two centuries, can ponder the last sentence of the following extract without being in some degree moved: — "I have frequently, according to my duty, in the most humble way, reported to your Excellency whatever here occurred, asking for more people and means of defense; but, during the whole space of three years and six months, I have received no orders and not the first matter of assistance from the old country. *Every day yet I am with great anxiety expecting it;* for myself, too, I beg of your Grace to be released, — *God knows what I have suffered those three long years!*" (Printz to Oxenstierna, Aug. 1st, 1651. MSS. Archives, Hist. Soc. Penna.)

[1] Hazard's Ann., 185.

placed upon a proper basis. Until this time any differences which may have occurred among the Dutch were doubtless summarily adjusted by the Commissary in command at the forts, and those which sprung from measures of trade and finance, as connected with these posts, were decided at New Amsterdam, by a citation of the party complained of to appear before the tribunal at that place. Gottenburg, on Tinnicum, now ceased to be the seat of government, which was removed to Casimir, now called New Amstel; and John Paul Jacquet, who was appointed by the Director and Council at New Amsterdam, Vice-Director and Commander upon the River, was commissioned "to do justice and administer it, either in civil or military cases."[1] In him, and two other persons, as a Council, to be increased, in the adjudication of affairs "purely civil between freemen and Company's servants," by the addition of "two most expert freemen," was vested jurisdiction in "all propositions relative to justice,"—extending, as we understand it, to the establishment of a method of procedure suited to the wants of the colony; the decision in the Council to be by the majority, and the casting vote by the Vice-Director.

The supervision of Jacquet over New Amstel and the surrounding country was not of long continuance: for the West India Company, having been embarrassed by the expense incurred in acquiring the river, proposed to transfer New Amstel to the City of Amsterdam. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, 1657, New Amstel, with the territory as far north as Christina Creek, and south as Bombay

[1] Hazard's Ann., 205.

Hook, was transferred to the Burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam, and Jacob Alricks was appointed by them Director-General of the Colony.

A mode was provided for the government of New Amstel by the selection of a *Schout* or Chief Judge, Burgomasters, and Schepens.[1] The latter had the power to finally decide suits under 100 guilders; but if over that amount, subject to an appeal to the Council at New Amsterdam; and to pronounce sentence in criminal cases, also subject to appeal.[2]

The West India Company, notwithstanding the transfer of New Amstel, retained jurisdiction over the territory not included in that cession.

On the 12th of March, 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent,[3] embracing the entire limits of the New Netherlands; which grant, in less than a month, he proceeded to enforce by an actual seizure of the Dutch possessions: and for this purpose dispatched a squadron of four vessels, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls,[4] with whom were associated Sir

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[1] Hazard's Ann., 221.

[2] That the Dutch "Commissioners of the Colonies on the Delaware" were desirous to provide all necessary means for the legal guidance of the Vice-Director Alricks, appears from the following acknowledgment in a letter from the latter: — "I have received the police and law books which were sent out, consisting of two parts, and duplicates of each; they will be a great convenience to us, and we shall make use of them; but [not] the by-laws of the city, at the end of which the customs of Antwerp are annexed and printed, whereof mention was frequently made in the dispatch." (Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. York, vol. ii. p. 54.)

[3] Hazard's Ann., 356.

[4] Colonel Richard Nicolls, being unable to sustain the expense which his office entailed upon him, was compelled, in 1667, to resign his post and return to England, after a creditable administration, in which, by his pru-

Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, as Royal Commissioners.[1]

Stuyvesant, having received intelligence of the sailing of the expedition, took measures to avert the threatened attack; but, misled by false advices, revoked his commands, and, to arrange some affairs, proceeded to Fort Orange, from which he was soon recalled. In feverish haste, he endeavored to repair the effects of misplaced confidence. The most vigorous measures were proposed, and the sturdy Governor would have persuaded himself they were sufficient to prevent the intended blow. He would, he said, "rather be carried out dead than submit."[2]

The people saw the crisis in another light, and felt resistance to be vain; persuasions, and threats at last, had their influence upon Stuyvesant.[3] He was forced to yield,

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dence and conciliating policy, he earned the good will and respect of the people. The King made him a groom of the Bed-chamber, and bestowed upon him the insignificant sum of £200. His loyalty was, however, unabated, and the following extract will explain his fate: — "The Church of Ampthill (Bedfordshire) contains little that is remarkable. . . . The only monument of note is that of Richard Nicolls, of Ampthill Park, Governor of Long Island, who, being in attendance on the Duke of York, was slain on board his ship, in 1672. A cannon-ball, said to have been that which occasioned his death, is inlaid in the marble within the pediment, and on the moulding is this inscription, 'Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis.'" (Lyson's Magna Brittania, i. 39.) He fell on the 29th of May, 1672, in the engagement with the Dutch fleet off Southwold Bay (or Solebay). Lediard's Naval Hist., 599; Graham's Hist. of the U. States, i. 417; Dunlap's Hist. of N. York, i. 118.

[1] Brodhead's Hist., 736.

[2] Brodhead's Hist., 741.

[3] The Directors of the West India Company having, as they alleged, found from the "documents and papers" sent to them, that the New Netherlands "had not been defended as the duty of the Director-General and Council, the importance of the place, and the means at hand there,

and on the 8th of September, 1664, the English flag was hoisted on Fort Amsterdam, thenceforth to be called New York.[1]

The Delaware was yet to be reduced, and thither Sir Robert Carr was sent, with three vessels; when disregarding his instructions and his pledges, he forever disgraced his name by acts of cruelty, plunder, and confiscation.[2]

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required; and therefore if the case were investigated, either that the Company's officers had not acquitted themselves as they ought, or that sufficient information of the condition of the country and the necessity of the surrender had not been communicated to the States-General, or to the Company," sent to the New Netherlands for Stuyvesant "to justify the surrender, or to receive what he might have deserved on account of his neglect or treachery" (Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. ii., 419). In obedience to the command, Stuyvesant went to Holland, and on the 19th Oct., 1665, submitted a "Memorial," and a "Petition," "corroborated by divers certificates and proofs," in which he endeavored to show that he "employed all possible means to put himself in proper defence, but was necessitated to surrender said place through the unwillingness of the Militia, the protests and menaces of the Burghers, the weakness of the Fort, the scarcity of provisions and munitions of war, and the small number of soldiers" (Id., 361). The report of Stuyvesant was referred to the West India Co., who replied in a paper, entitled "Observations on the Report of Ex-Director Stuyvesant," to which the latter presented an elaborate rejoinder, which in turn was followed by an equally elaborate "Reply of the West India Company to the Answer of The Worthy Peter Stuyvesant" (Id., 429, 491).

[1] Guerre d'Angleterre, 22; Amsterdam, 1668.

[2] The conduct of Carr did not, in one respect, meet the approbation of his colleague Nicolls, who says: "Within the Fort a considerable cargo is found and some part plundered, but I feare the rest is in hucksters hands, for though S^r^ Robert Carr stayed aboard the Guinney, whilst his souldyrs tooke the fort, he came early enough to the pillage and sayes tis his owne, being wonn by the sword; but by his favour I knew such accompt must not be given to His Majestie, and I shall this week make a journey hither to dispose thereof to His Ma^tyes^ service and not to private uses." Nicolls to Sec. of State, Oct. 1664 (Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., iii., 69).

The first blood shed in any European contest upon the shores of the Delaware flowed at the capture of New Amstel. "Whatever may have been its ultimate consequences, this treacherous and violent seizure of the territory and possessions of an unsuspecting ally was no less a breach of private justice than of public faith."[1]

The acquisition of the City's colony at Horekill followed, and thus was extinguished "the Dutch dominion in America."[2]

Although the country was violently seized, the conquerors knew that the habits of the people were not to be easily changed: the Commissioners therefore instructed their colleague, Carr, to continue all magistrates in office for six months, upon their taking the oath of allegiance, and to retain the existing laws as to the "administration of right and justice."[3]

The inhabitants were also promised, that they should enjoy liberty of conscience, and their tenures unmolested: which stipulations were inserted in the articles of capitulation, on the surrender of New Amstel, thenceforth New Castle.[4]

In May, 1667, Governor Nicholls was succeeded by Francis Lovelace.[5]

For the assistance of Deputy-Governor Carr there was established at New Castle, in 1668, a temporary Council, composed of himself, the Schout, and five others, who took the oath of allegiance to the Duke of York, and over which

[1] Brodhead's Hist., 745. [2] Id., 744. [3] Hazard's Reg., i. 37.
[4] It was after this sometimes called the "*Fort and town* of Delaware."
[5] Hazard's Ann., 370.

the authorities at New York maintained a supervisory power. To what extent Dutch usages and laws were to this period respected, cannot now perhaps be ascertained; but the old Dutch magistrates were probably retained in power: for so mild had been the spirit of change, that the office of Schout was still in existence. Indeed, so late as 1670, Herman Fredericksen was commissioned Schout at the Horekills, and, with two Commissaries, constituted a Court to try differences under £10;[1] and even so late as 1672, that peculiar office was recognized.

It would appear, that it was not until 1668 that any allusion was made, so far as related to the Delaware, to "the Lawes" established by the Duke of York; and in confirmation of what has been said, as to the disposition manifested by Lovelace and his Council, not to offend or alienate by any sudden change, it is remarkable that they recommend that "the lawes" be merely "showed and frequently communicated to said Counsellors and all others, to the end that, being therewith acquainted, the practice of them may also in *convenient* time be established."[2]

These laws were compiled from those in force in other English colonies and plantations, and embraced about ninety different heads. Although additions were made from time to time, it would have been impossible to meet every case which might arise, and it was accordingly provided that in matters of appeal the Court of Assizes should "decide according to the direction of the Bench, and not contrary to the known laws of England."

The title states the manner of and authority for the

[1] Hazard's Ann., 380. [2] Id., 372.

enactment of the code, as follows: "Lawes established by the authority of his Majesties letters patents, granted to his Royal Highnesse, James, Duke of York and Albany; bearing date the 12th day of March, in the 16th year of the Raigne of our soveraigne, Lord King Charles the Second. Digested into one volume for the publick use of the territories in America, under the government of his Royal Highnesse. Collected out of the several laws now in force in his Majesties American Colonyes and Plantations. Published March 11th, A. D., 1664, at a general meeting at Hemsted upon Longe Island, by virtue of a commission from his Royall Highnesse, James, Duke of York and Albany, given to Colonel Richard Nicolls, Deputy Governeur, bearing date the 2d day of Aprill, 1664."[1]

In May, 1672,[2] the town of New Castle was incorporated by the Governor and Council at New York, and the inhabitants were allowed to choose a bailiff and six assistants. A constable's Court was also erected to try causes amounting to £10, without appeal.

This period is marked by the establishment of the Duke of York's laws, and the introduction of the common and statute laws of England so far as they were applicable, according to the terms of the following order in Council: "English laws to be established in the town[3] and river, the office of Schout to be converted into Sheriff for the corporation[4] and river, and to be chosen annually."

Edward Cantwell was chosen the first High Sheriff under the English Government.[5]

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[1] Collections of the New York Hist. Soc., for the year 1809, vol. i. 307.
[2] Id., 396. [3] Of New Castle. [4] Id., 396. [5] Id., 398.

The earliest mention of Upland as a location in America, occurs in 1648; the name might seem rather English than Swedish, were it not known that many of the emigrants came from Upland, a province in Middle Sweden on the Baltic, to which the natural features of the new region bore some resemblance. Upland, although not named, was probably one of the settlements referred to in 1643, as existing between the Island of Tinnicum and Fort Christina.[1]

It was at Tinnicum, as has been remarked, that Printz fixed his government, and where the principal people among the Swedish emigrants established themselves; it may, therefore, be regarded as the centre from which for the first time justice was regularly administered within the present limits of Pennsylvania, as previously to the arrival of Printz, Christina had been the place to which the scattered settlers within those limits resorted when they felt themselves aggrieved.

The Swedes, after their conquest by the Dutch, appear still to have been governed by their own officers, and were directed to concentrate themselves in villages. Among the places named for this end was Upland.[2] This conciliatory policy of continuing the Swedish magistrates in office, from which the English wisely took example, did not harmonize with the views of the Dutch West India Company, and they censured Stuyvesant, in that spirit of prejudice and suspicion, the effects of which, had, hitherto, so often retarded the prosperity of the Colony.[3] Stuyvesant, in 1658, visited the Delaware, and met the Swedish sheriff

[1] Id., 70. [2] Id., 236. [3] Id., 249, 251.

and magistrates at Tinnicum, from which it may be inferred that a Court was still held there.

The executive power over the Colony on the river, was exercised by a Vice-Director, who derived his appointment and instruction from the Director and Council at Manhattan. The legislative and judicial powers were exercised by the Vice-Director and his Council, subject, as to appeals from their decision, and the power of originating fresh instructions, to the supervision and control of the authorities at New Amsterdam; both, however, being governed by the ordinances of the West India Company, the civil law, the enactments of the States-General, and the customs and usages of Holland or Brabant;[1] and in criminal matters, Dambonder's Praxis Rerum Criminalium.

The great destruction some years since in Holland, of the Documentary History of New Netherlands, must ever be a source of deep regret, especially to us, for periods in our annals, prior to the grant to Penn, which are almost blank, will now, probably, receive no illustration.

As to the mode of administering justice by the Dutch, upon the Delaware, little is known of its details, and as both the Dutch and Swedish colonies were military, it is not improbable that the pandects of the civil law and the usages of the mother country sometimes yielded to more arbitrary notions of right and wrong, as they found their exponents in the breast of the Vice-Director.

The system of municipal governments and free communities, one of the most striking features in the constitution of Holland, and more in keeping with the genius of the

[1] O'Callaghan's Hist. vol. i., 220. Brodhead's Hist., 163.

institutions of that country and the feelings of the people, than the rule of a Director and Council, was not exemplified on the Delaware until the organization, at New Amstel, of the Colony of the City of Amsterdam, the government of which was modelled after that of the latter place; the most important office being the Schout, a functionary whose duties comprehended those of sheriff and prosecuting attorney.[1]

If so little is known of the Dutch Courts, less is known of the Swedish. Almost the only intimation on the subject is that already quoted from the instructions to Printz, that he should "decide all controversies according to the laws, customs and usages of Sweden."[2] This, although but a glimpse, is sufficient to show that no special code was

[1] Hazard's Annals, 221. Brodhead's Hist. of N. Neth., 163. O'Callaghan's Hist. of N. Neth. i., 102. Davies' Hist. of Holland, i. 77.

[2] The Governor of the Swedish Colony, Printz, found that his military education disqualified him as a judge in civil cases. Irrespective of the difficulties he encountered from the want of precedents as applicable to the colony, and the complication of questions presented for decision, he felt as protector of the interests of the West India Company, the embarrassment of acting in the capacity both of judge and plaintiff. In a report dated February 20, 1647, to the West India Company, he stated his troubles upon these points:

"16. . . . Again, I have several times solicited to obtain a learned and able man. 1st. To administer justice and attend to the law business, sometimes very intricate cases occurring, in which it is difficult, and never ought to be for one and the same person to appear in Court as plaintiff as well as judge. 2d. To act as secretary, especially in the Latin language, for it many times has happened, as is proved by the annexed paper, that I have received Latin letters from all parts. These it would be well to answer in Latin, as I really have attempted to do in the best way possible for me; but I do wish, and submissively entreat for the future, to be released from such a work, through the assistance as above stated of a proper and learned man." (Swedish MSS., Archives Hist. Soc. Penna).

prepared for the government of the colony. The laws of the mother country were, in ancient times, various and conflicting, each province being governed by its own peculiar customs and statutes. About the year 1614, a compilation of these laws was made for the direction of the whole kingdom; deficiencies and obscurities in doubtful cases being supplied or explained by the aid of the civil law.

By this code, Printz was doubtless directed in the decisions which, as Governor and Chief Magistrate, he was bound to make; for although Swedish writers assert that trial by jury is of Swedish origin, no instance is known of its application in the colony.[1]

It is uncertain whether the Swedes or the Dutch ever held a Court at Upland prior to the conquest by the English; and the period at which, under the latter, it became a seat of justice, cannot from our present knowledge be determined. As however they were indisposed to make unnecessary innovations, and were willing to continue the Dutch magistrates in authority, with titles and powers unknown to English law, it is not perhaps an unwarrantable conjecture that they found a Court existing there, which having been originally established by the Swedes, and con-

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[1] "An account of Sweden, London, 1694, ch. III." "Suecia sive de Succorum Regio Dominiis et opibus. Commentarius Politicus." Lugd. Batav., 1631, ch. III.

There were some matters of domestic regulation in the subject of ordinances, which were established either by the home government, or by the Swedish Governor himself, under the powers conferred upon him; an example of the latter may be found in an ordinance drawn up by Risingh, entitled: "An Ordinance concerning the People, Country, Agriculture, and Cattle," given in New Sweden, the year 1654. Swedish MSS., Archives Hist. Soc. of Penna.

tinued by the Dutch, was now in turn recognized by the English.

On the 18th of August, 1672, the "Court at Upland,"[1] was directed by the Court at New York, to investigate a question of title to land; a proof that at this period, at all events, a Court was in existence at that place, and that the earliest tribunal under English sanction, within the limits of what is now the State of Pennsylvania, held its sittings at Upland, since called Chester.

In 1673, the Dutch regained by conquest their former possessions. Anthony Colve was appointed Governor at New York, the name of which was changed to Fort William Henderick; and the inhabitants on the Delaware, declared their submission.[2]

The conditions agreed upon by the Deputies from the Delaware, and the Dutch Governor and Council, provided for "freedom of conscience," and the organization of three judicial districts on the river, or perhaps more correctly, the recognition of those already existing, namely:

One Court of Justice for the inhabitants of the Horekill dwelling, between "Cape Hinloopen and Boomties [Bombay] Hook."

One for New Amstel, for inhabitants between "Boomties Hook and Kristina-Kill."

One for Upland, for inhabitants between "Kristina-Kill and upwards, unto the head of the river."[3]

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[1] Hazard's Annals, 398. [2] Id., 407.

[3] Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., II., 605.

"The falls" of the Delaware at Trenton, or head of the river, were by the Swedes, and afterwards by the English, regarded as the point which bounded the judicial limits on the north. The Indian name for this place was *Sankhikans.*

The nomination of the Judges was left with the people, who were required to vote for eight persons, from whom a selection was made by the Governor, of four for each district.

The authority of the Dutch was of short duration; the country having been restored to the English, in 1674,[1] under the treaty of Westminster, Sir Edmund Andross re-appointed those magistrates who were in office at the time of the reconquest by the Dutch.

From this period, to the date of the first entry in the following book of Minutes, little of interest is mentioned in our annals. It is to be feared that the prior Records of the Court are lost—for an entry will be seen, proving that they once existed.

The document now published, registers the last official act, under the Duke of York's administration, in a notice to the magistrates of the cession of the territory to William Penn, and a direction that they should yield obedience to the new Proprietor.

The powers exercised by the five magistrates at Upland were comprehensive: for they were, in fact, not only judicial, but legislative.

The extent to which Penn was indebted to the Swedes, as active and worthy pioneers in the partial cultivation and settlement of his possessions, was not unappreciated by him. There is yet another reason, why our Founder was, and doubtless felt himself, indebted to the Swedes, and more particularly to the Dutch: it was for their inflexible opposition to all intruders, or those whom

[1] Hazard's Annals, 410.

they chose to consider such, especially the people of New England, who at different periods attempted to gain a foothold upon the soil. In this exclusive policy, the Swede and the Hollander were alike steadfast. In vain did the strangers turn their gaze to a milder climate and more genial soil, and in the earnest words of their petition, declare, that the "Delaware, in the judgment of those that have often and seriously viewed the land and considered the climate, is a place fit for the enlargement of the English colonies at present, and hopeful for posterity."[1] . . . The enterprising spirit of our Eastern neighbors either had not been developed at that day, or was tired out by the pertinacious resistance which it encountered; for, after many fruitless endeavors, their attempts to effect a settlement upon the western side of the river were abandoned. Had success attended those efforts, it is more than probable that the territory would not have afforded to the future founder of Pennsylvania, "room there for such an holy experiment."[2]

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[1] Hazard's Annals, 129.

[2] Penn to Harrison.

Record of Upland Court.

Att a Court held at Uppland in Delowar Riuer By the authority of o^{r} Soueraigne Lord Charles the Secund by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France, & Yreland King, defendor of the faith, the 14th of November and in the 28th jeare of his s^{d} may^{ties} Raigne, Annoq Domini 1676;

Capt^{n}. John Colier & Capt^{n}. Edmond Cantwell being Impowered by his hono^{r} the Governo^{r} for to administer the oath unto the Justices hereunder named according to the new Commission the same was accordingly done and were sworne, viz:

M^{R} Peter Cock
M^{R} Peter Rambo
M^{R} Israel Helm
M^{R} Lace Andries
M^{R} Oele Swen
M^{R} Otto Ernest[1]
} Justices

Itt was ordered that the severall new Commissions etc: should bee Recorded

[1] All of these were Swedes, and their names frequently occur in the history of the Colony. Helm was for many years Indian interpreter. Rambo and Cock were two of the four magistrates, who, in 1658, met Governor Stuyvesant at Tinnicum "with a petition for various privileges" (Hazard's

Copia

By the Governo^{R}.

These, are to authorize Capt^{n}. John Colier & Capt^{n}. Edmond Cantwell or Either of them to give the oaths to the new Magestrates, att New Castle and upp the river att Delowar, as also att the whorekill for the doing whereof, this shall bee yo^{r} Warrant. Given under my hand in New Yorke this 27th day of Septembr. 1676

(Signed) E. Andros.

[Loco Sigili.] Edmond Andros[1] Esq^{r} Seigneur of Sausmarez Lieu:^{t} and Governo^{r}: Gener:^{ll} under his Roy^{ll} Highnesse James Duke of Yorke & Albany etc. of all his Territories in America.

Ann., 243). Rambo was afterwards appointed commissary, an office which he resigned in 1661 (Id., 324). Cock, in 1663, was appointed collector of Tolls on Imports and Exports (Id., 349); and, in 1668, they were, with Helm, chosen members of Governor Carr's Council (Id., 371).

Rambo, who came with the original settlers, and Helm, were born in Sweden, and they were both living, in 1693. *Rudman, M. S.*, quoted in Clay's Annals of the Swedes, 50, 139. *Acrelius' History of New Sweden*, 220. Stockholm, 1759.

Swen or Swensen was, in 1664, one of the patentees for the Wicaco tract, which formed a large part of subsequent Philadelphia.

[1] "Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, was of English ancestry, originally from Northamptonshire. John Andros [or Andrews,] the first of them connected with Guernsey, was Lieutenant to Sir Peter Mewtis, the Governor, and married in 1543, *Judith De Sausmarez*, the heiress, who brought the fief of Sausmarez into the family. Sir Edmund was born in London, 6th December, 1637. His father, Arnias Andros, being then Marshal of the ceremonies to King Charles I., Sir Edmond was brought up from a boy in the royal family, and on its exile commenced his career of arms in Holland under Prince Henry of Nassau. Upon the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, he was made gentleman in ordinary to Elizabeth

BY VIRTUE of the authority deryved unto mee; I: doe hereby in his May:ties name, constitute appoint & authorize you Mr Peter Cock Mr Peter Rambo Mr Israell Helm Mr Lace Andriesen Mr Oele Swen & Mr Otto

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Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, the King's aunt. In the war waged by Charles against the Dutch, and which ended in 1667, he bore a distinguished part. Major Andros, in 1672, was commander of the forces in Barbadoes. In the same year, the palatine and proprietors of the province of Carolina, by a patent, in which they made allusion to his services and merits, conferred on him and his heirs, the title and dignity of Landgrave, with four baronies, containing 48,000 acres of land. The distinction does not appear to have been otherwise beneficial, and neither he, nor his heirs, it is believed, at any time derived advantage from the large quantity of land annexed to the dignity. In 1674, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the office of bailiff of Guernsey. The same year the war, which had recommenced with the Dutch, having terminated, he was commissioned by patent, dated 24th July, to receive from them New York and its dependencies pursuant to the Treaty of Peace, and was constituted its Governor-General. It was on his return from thence in 1681, that he was knighted by Charles II. In 1686, James II. appointed him Governor, Captain General, and Vice-Admiral of Massachusetts, &c. After the revolution, William III., in 1692, preferred him to the Governorship of Virginia, and at the same time to that of Maryland. In 1704, under Queen Anne, he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, became a widower at Boston, in New England, and married twice afterwards, closing his eventful life in the parish of St. Anne, in Westminster, without issue, in February, 1713, in his 76th year.

"Throughout the long course of his career, he resolutely encountered the duties and responsibilities of his high office, and was successful in resisting in his military as well as civil capacity, the intrigues and hostilities of the neighboring French and Indians to which he was continually exposed. By some of the chroniclers of the period who wrote doubtless not uninfluenced by its partizanship, he has been represented in his earlier government as an abettor of tyranny; but by others of them, appearing to have possessed the best means of judging of the circumstances under which he acted, his conduct has been liberally estimated (Chalmers' Political Annals). His later administration under William III., is allowed to have been irreproachable."

The above favorable sketch of the life of Andros, is taken from Dun-

Ernest Cock to bee Justices of the Peace in the Jurisdiction of delowar River and dependences, and any three or more of you to bee a Court of Judicature, Giving you and Every of you full power to act in the s^{d} Employment, according to Law & the trust Reposed in you, of w^{ch} all p^{r}sons concerned are to take notice, & give you ye due respect and obedience belonging to yo:^{r} places in dischargeing yo:^{r} Dutys; This Commission to bee of force for the space of one yeare after the date hereof, or till further order. Given under my hand and seale in New Yorke the 23th day of September, in the 28th Jeare of his May^{ties} Raigne, Annoq Domini, 1676

(Signed) E. Andross

[Loco Sigili.] EDMOND ANDROS Esq. Seigneur of Sausmarez, Lieut: and Governor Gener^{ll} under his Roy^{ll} Highness James Duke of Yorke and Albany etc: of all his Territories in America.

BY VIRTUE of the authority deryved unto mee under his Royall highness I: do hereby constitute and appoint

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can's History of the Island of Guernsey, 588–590 (London, 1841); the text, however, having been somewhat abridged in unessential particulars.

It may be added that while the authority of Chalmers relied upon by the above writer in more liberally estimating the conduct of Andros, cannot be regarded as altogether impartial and trustworthy, yet it must, notwithstanding, be admitted that the justice of the comment upon the Governor's administration in Virginia, is not to be disputed.

Since the note was written, vol ii. of "The Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," has been published, where in a note at p. 740, may be found an elaborate biography of Andros by the editor, E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., in which some additional particulars are given.

you, EPHRAIM Herman to bee Clarke of the Court of New Castle in delowar and alsoe of the Court att uppland in the River, You are therefore Carefully to discharge yor duty of a Clarke according to Law and Practice; Given under my hand and seale in Nieu Yorke this 23th day of Septembr 1676

(Signed) E. ANDROSS

A Coppy of his Honor the Governor's Instructions;

EDMOND ANDROSS Esqr: & Seigneur of Sausmarez, Lieut & Governor Genll under his Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and albany etc: of all the Territories of America

WHEREAS The Last Jeare att my beeing att delowar uppon application of the Inhabitants Representing that my prdecessor Governor Lovelace had begun to make a Regulacon for the due administracon of Justice according to the Lawes of this Government, pursuant to wich I: did appoint some majestrates and make some Rules for their proceeding the Jeare e'suing or till further order; In wich haveing uppon mature deliberation, by the advyce of my Councill made some alteracon, They are to Remaine and bee in force in forme following;

1. That the bookes of Lawes[1] Establisht by his Royll Highnesse and practized in New Yorke, Long Island, and

[1] The "Book of Laws" was that compiled and established under the authority of the Duke of York, in which were incorporated some of the laws and usages of the New Netherlands, a description of which code may be found in the introduction to this Record.

dependences Bee Likewyse in force and practice in this River, and precincts, Except the Constable's Co^{rts}: County Rates, and some other things; Peculiar to Long Island,—and the militia as now ordered to Remain in the King; But that a Constable bee Jearly in Each place chosen for the preservation of his May^{ties} Peace, wth all other Powers as Directed by Lawe.

2. That there bee three Courts held in the severall parts of the River and Bay as formerly, to wit, one in New Castle, one above att upplands, another below at the whorekill;

3. That the Courts consist of Justices of the Peace, whereof three to make a coram & to have the Power of a Court of Sessions & decide all matters under twenty pounds wthout apeall, In w^{ch} Court the Eldest Justice to p^{e}side unlesse otherwise agreed amonghst themselves, above twenty pounds & for cryme, extending to Lyfe Limb or banishment to admitt appeale to the Co^{rt} of assizes;

4. That all small matters under the vallue of fyve pounds may bee determined by the Court without a Jury, unlesse desiered by the partees, as alsoe matters of Equity;

5. That the Court for New Castle bee held once a moneth to begin the first Teusday in Each month and the Co:^{rt} for uppland the whoorekill quarterly and to begin the second Tuesday of the month or oftener if occasion;

6. That all necessary By-lawes or orders, not Repugnant to ye Lawes of the Governm^{t}, Made by the said Courts bee of force and binding, for the space of one whole Jeare, in the severall place where made, They giving an account

thereof to the Governo^{r} by the first opportunity: — and that no fines bee made or imposed but by order of Court.

7. That the severall Courts have power to Regulate the Court and officers' fees, not to Exceed the Rates in the Booke of Lawes, nor to bee under halfe the vallue therein Exprest.

8. That there bee a high Sherrife for the Towne of New Castle, River, and Bay; and that the s^{d} High Sherrife haue power to make an undersherrife or marshall being a fit p^{r}son, and for whome hee will bee Responsable, to bee approoved by the Court. But the Sherrife, as in England, and according to the now practice on Long Island, to act as a principall officer for the Execution of the Lawes but not as a Justice of peace or magistrate.

9. That there bee fitting Bookes provyded for the Records, In wich all Judiciall proceedings, to bee duly and fairly entred as also publicq orders from the Governo^{r}, and the names of the magistrates and officers authorized, wth the tyme of their admission. The s:^{d} Records to bee kept in English, to wich all p^{r}sons concerned may have free Recourse at dwe or sesonable tymes;

10. That a fitt p^{r}son for Clarke (when vacant) bee Recomended by Each Court to the governo^{r}; for his approbation, in whose hands the s^{d} Records to bee kept;

11. That all writts warrants & proceedings att Lawe shall bee in his may^{ties} name. Itt haueing been practized in the Goverm^{t} ever since the first writing of the Lawe booke, and itt being his Roy^{ll} Highnesses speciall Pleasure and Order.

12. That no Rates bee Imposed or Levys of mony made wthin the Towne of New Castle, River, or Bay by any

under what denomination soever wthout the approbation of the Governo^{r} unlesse upon Extraordinary occasion in Case of necessity, of w^{ch} the Governo^{r} to haue p^{r}sent acc^{t} sent him. That upon the Levy of any Rates there bee a faire acc^{t} kept both of the Receipts and disboursments, w^{ch} account to bee Given in to the Co^{rt} there to bee past and then sent to the Governo^{r} for his allowance, untill wich not to bee a sufficient discharge.

Whereas by this Regulation there are no ouerzeers apointed nor Constables Courts, but all matters to bee determined by the Justices; I: doe therefore Recomend the Composure or Referring to arbitracon[1] of as many matters particularly under the vallue of fyve pound as may properly be determined that way, Provided it may bee by the Consent of Partees;

That any P^{r}son desiering Land make application to the

[1] The following was the provision in the Duke's Laws relating to Arbitration:

"All actions of Debt or Trespasse under the value of five pounds between Neighbours shall be put to Arbitration of two indifferent persons of the Neighbourhood to be nominated by the Constable of the place; And if either or both parties shall refuse (upon any pretence) their Arbitration: Then the next Justice of the peace upon notice thereof by the Constable shall choose three other indifferent persons; who are to meet at the Dissenter's charge from the first Arbitration and both Plaintiffe and Defendant are to be concluded by the award of the persons so chosen by the justice." Collect. of N. York Hist. Soc., i. 308.

This enactment perhaps suggested to Penn the law on the subject of Peace-makers and Arbitration, by which it was required "That in every precinct, three persons shall be yearly chosen in that place as common peace-makers in that precinct." The "parties differing" were required to sign a Reference and submission of their matters in controversy to men so chosen as aforesaid, and upon a ratification of the reference by the county, was "as conclusive as a sentence given by the county court." Laws passed at Phil., 1st March, 1683.

Court in whose bounds itt is whoe are Required to sitt once a month or oftner if there bee occasion to Give order therein & Certify to the Governo^{r} for any Land not taken upp and Improoved fitt Proportions, not Exceeding fifty acres p^{r} head unlesse uppon Extraordinary occasions where they see good Cause for itt, w^{ch} Certificate to bee a sufficient authority or warr^{t} for the Surveigo^{rs} to surveig the same and with the Surveigors Returne to bee sent to New Yorke for the governo^{rs} approbation; That in the Certificates be specifyed how much upland and meaddow wth due Reguard that Each may have a proportionable sheare, according to the place they are in Landward; Given under my hand & seale in New Yorke, the 25th day of Septemb^{r} in the 28th Jeare of his may^{ties} Reigne a^{o} Dom: 1676

(Signed) E Andross

The Co^{rt} ordered that Mr. William Tom[1] the former Clarke should deliver unto the p^{r}sent Clarke Eph: Herman, the Records and other publicq bookes and wrytings belonging to this Court;

Tho: Spry P^{lt}.

The estate of Hend: Johnson deceased } Def^{t}.

The P^{lt} not appearing by himselfe or attorney, the Co^{rt} ordered a non suit to bee entered against the P^{lt} wth costs;

[1] This order appears to have been obeyed, for in 1677, Andros, to whom the papers had probably been transmitted, after endeavoring to arrange them, complained of their confusion, and returned them by the clerk, Mr. Herman, with a request that Mr. Tom "forthwith put them in order, and cause them to be fairly copied in a book." . . . As Mr. Tom died in the following year, and his papers were reported in confusion (Hazard's Ann., 441, 448), it is probable the order was never complied with, which may account for the disappearance of the records.

Uppon the Peticon of Mr. Will: Tom desiering that Execution might bee entered uppon the Record, against all those whoe shall deny to pay the s^{d}: Mr. Toms Just fees by him Earned during the tyme that hee was Secretar to the Co^{rt}:, etc;

The Co^{rt}: ordered that Execution should bee Granted against those whoe should proove unwilling to pay the s^{d}: Mr. Toms Just feez.

Uppon the Peticon of Justice Israell helm desiering to haue some Recompence for Haueing served the Riuer often and att sundry tymes as an Interpreter wth: the Indians, etc;

The Co^{rt} answer that they will order the Clarke to wryt to his hon^{r}: y^{e}: Governo^{r}: about y^{e}: same;

WHEREAS, itt hath ben Represented to this Court that the Estate of Hendrik Johnson deceased was made wast of & that the heirs of the s^{d}: hendrik Johnson (as yet being in minority) haue no guardian to take ceare of them & also of the said Estate; The Court haue thought fitt to nominate & appoint Jan Jansen and morten morten sen to bee ouerzeers and guardians of the s^{d}: Estate, and the goods and chattles of the deceased, who are to bring a true Inventory of the s^{d}: Estate into the office for to bee Recorded.

The Court thought fitt to wryte to his Hono^{r}: the Governo^{r}: the following Lettre

RIGHT HONO^{BLE}: GOVERNO^{R}:

SIR:

Sence itt hath Graciously pleased yo^{r}: hono^{r}: to Commissionate us Justices of the Court & Jurisdiction att

uppland in delowar River; wee find itt o^{r} duty humbly to p^{r}sent to his hono^{r} the hereafter mentioned perticulars for w^{ch} wee Intreat yo^{r} hono^{rs} favorable grant and approbation viz;

1. That yo^{r} hono^{r} will bee pleased to Confirm the order made att the Last Gener^{ll} Court here about the voolfes heads.

2. That his Hono^{r} will p^{r}scrybe a way & order how the Charges of this Court when they sitt may bee found, Conciedering that wee all Live att a Great distance from o^{r} Court place, and the amercem^{ts} (by Reason of the small number of actions) amounting to Little; and that yo^{r} hono^{r} will bee pleased to Impower us, so that the old debts of the Court together wth the debts sence yo^{r} hono^{rs} government may also bee sattisfyed by the same way w^{ch} yo^{r} hono^{r} shall prescrybe:

Lastly, M^{r} Israell helm hath ben often Imployed by Capt^{n} Cantwell, as Interpreter wth the Indians, who now makes application to this Court for some Recompense for his s^{d} trouble & Losse of tyme of w^{ch} wee are all sensible. Wee therefore desier his hono^{r} Either to prescrybe a way how wee may Recompense him, or order the same otherways, so as yo^{r} hono^{r} in his wisdome shall think fit; soo praying God for his hono^{rs} health & prosperity wee Remaine

NOV. 14th 1676. Yo^{r} hono^{rs} humble and faithfull subjects the maijestratz of the Co^{rt} at uppland

By order of the Same

EPH: HERMAN.

Clarke

The Court makeing upp the acco^{t} wth neeles Laersen for the Charges of Keepeing of Court and Justices dyet there; do find, that the same comes to 452 Gilders,[1] whereof 200 Gilders is paid Last Jeare by Capt^{n} Cantwell. Rest 252 Gilders Due.

The Co^{rt} adjorned untill the 2d Teusday in martch next, and no sooner by Reason of the winter Ceason, and so is to Continue and bee kept quarterly.

Att a Court held att Uppland In Delowar River March the 13th annoq Dom: $167\frac{6}{7}$

p'sent — M^{R} Peter Cock, M^{R} Peter Rambo, M^{R} Israell Helm, M^{R} Laece Andries, M^{R} Otto Ernest — Justices

Capt^{N} Edmond Cantwell P^{lt} / John Ashman Deft — An attachment of the def^{ts} Effects in the hands of francis Walker;

francis Walker appeared and sayed to haue formerly attached the same Cattle in his owne Suit etc; The Court thought good to Continue this action untill next Court;

Edmond Cantwell, High Sherrife P^{lt}
Richard Ducket & Swart Anna Defts
This action is also Continued untill the next Court day;

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[1] *A guilder* was equal to 40 cents of American currency.

JUSTICE ISRAELL HELM Plt
OOLE OOLSEN Deft

The plt declares that this deft in a most abusiff and malicious manner did beat & strike this Plt. and wth many scandalous Evill words did abuse him;

Lace Coleman Testifys that hee sawe the deft. haue hold of the plt. and that Justice Israell helms shirt was torne all in peaces; ——— The deft. Remaining absent; The Court doe order that the sd deft. appeare att the next Court day to defend his sd. fact, or In case of further default, Judgement to passe against him according to Lawe and merrit;

MORTEN MORTENSEN Plt
MOUNS STAECKE Deft.

The plt. declares as pr. declaration about an ox by this deft. and his servt. Killed etc;

The plts witnesses being supened & not appearing the Court ordered this action to Continue untill next Cort. and if the witnesses do not then appeare, they to bee fined;

MORTEN MORTENSE Plt
MOUNS STAECKE Deft } In an action of assault and Battery

Jonas Nealson & andries Boen sworne in Court declare that they came wth the Plt. to the house of Mouns Staecke & there did see the deft. to Run against the plt. so that hee threw him backeward to the ground, hee the plt. haueing some meat uppon his bake, The Court doe Continue this action untill further order, and In the meantyme doe Recommend the partees to Compose the difference between them.

ANTHONY NEALSON Plt

LACE DALBOO Deft

The Plt not apearing by himselfe or attorney a nonsuit was ordered against the Plt wth Costs.

Uppon the Peticon of Johannes de haes sheweing that hee obtained a Pattent of the Late Governor francis Louelace of a peace of Land Lying in the bogh[1] betweene the Land of oole fransen & company and ye creek called namans[2] creeke; wch sd Land was not yett surveighed, so that the Peticonr is uncertain of the quantity of the sd Land and therefore desiered That the Court would bee pleased to give order & withall a warrant for the Laying out of the sd Land etc.

The Court did grant the Peticonr his sd Request and that a warrant bee Given him for the surveigors Laying out of the same.

The Charges of Keepeing Court att neales Laersens house and for the dyet of the Justices & Commandr this day amount one hundred Gilders of wch the Cort allow.

The Court adjourned untill the 2d Teusday of June next.

Jan hendrikse aknowledged In Court a deed for a prcell of Land by him made ouer unto William orian.

Will: orian made ouer ye halfe of sd deed unto michill Izard.

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[1] *Bogt*, a Dutch word, signifying *bend* of the river.

[2] *Naaman's Creek.* Acrelius (64), states this name to be of Swedish origin, and calls it "Nymans Kihl;" but Lindstrom, the best authority, writes it "La Riviere de Naaman," and it probably received its title from Naaman, an Indian Chief of some note.

Att a meeting held by ye Commander & Justices att uppland, uppon the news of the Simeco Indians comming downe to fetch the Sasquehanno that were amonghst these River Indians etc, March the 13th annoq Dom. $16\frac{76}{77}$

Capt^{N}. John Colier Comand^{r}

P^{r}sent

- M^{R} John Moll
- M^{R} Peter Cock
- M^{R} Peter Rambo
- M^{R} Israell helm
- M^{R} Lace andries
- M^{R} Otto Ernest Cock

} Justices

Itt was concluded uppon the motions of Rinowehan the Indian Sachomore for the most quiet of the River viz. That Capt^{n}. Colier & Justice Israell helm goe upp to Sachamexin[1] (where att p^{r}sent a great number of Simico & other Indians are) and that they Endeauor to p^{r}swaede the Simecus the Sasquehannos & these Riuer Indians to send Each a Sachomore or Deputy to his hono^{r}. the Governo^{r}. att New Yorke, and that Justice Israell helm goe wth. them; for to heare & Receive his s^{d}. hono^{rs}. Resolucons & answer to their demands;

[1] Shackamaxon.

Att a Court held att Upland in Delowar River on Teusday the 13th of June a^{o} 1677

Justices — Present:
M^{R} Peter Cock
M^{R} Peter Rambo
M^{R} Israell helm
M^{R} Lace andries
M^{R} Oele Swensen
M^{R} Otto Ernest Cock

Edmond Cantwell P^{lt}.
John Ashman Def^{t}.

The P^{lt} demands the quantity of 800 ℔ of Tobbacco; for surveig^{rs}. fees of twoo tracts of Land as also for the Pattents and other Charges as p^{r}. acc^{t}. and desiers that hee may haue Judgm^{t}. Entered agst the def^{t}. for the s^{d}. Sume & that the attachment by the p^{lt}. Laid uppon some Cattle & other Effects of this Def^{t}. may stand good; etc.

The Court haueing heard the Reply of Robberd Ashman the father of the s^{d} John ashman, to the demands of the p^{lt}. did think good to order That Judgem^{t}. bee Entered against the def^{t}. for the s^{d}. 800 ℔ of tobbacco, and doo allow of the s^{d}. attachment.

Albert Hendrics P^{lt}.
andries Bertels Def^{t}.

The P^{lt}. Complaines against the def^{t}. for haueing Killed wth. a gun a certaine boare of this P^{lts}.

The Def^{t}. sayes that the boar hath used about his Land 6 Jeares and y^{t} the s^{d} boare was so cruell that no man Could passe wthout danger of being hurt by the s^{d}. Boare, and that their Childeren were Lykevyse In danger.

The Court after Examination of the buisnesse (uppon the Request of ye partees) did suspend this action untill the next Court; Recomending the partees mutually to Compose the buisnesse between themselves;

Mr John Test brought In Court a certaine man servant named William Still, being a taylor by traede, whome hee the sd Test did aknowledge to haue sold unto Captn Edmond Cantwell for the space and tearme of foure Jeares, beginning from the first of aprill Last past; The sd William Still declared in Court to bee willing to serve the said Captn Cantwell the abovesd tearme of foure yeares;

Morten Mortense Plt
Mouns Staecke Deft
} The partees declared to haue agreed & that Each was to pay halfe Costs.

Morten Mortense Plt
Mouns Staecke Deft
} The partees agreed as above Each to pay halfe Costs.

Andries Homman Plt
Lace Dalboo by James Sanderlin his attorney } Deft In an action of assault & battery.

The Plt declares as pr Peticon for yt ye. deft hath assaulted & beaten him before his dore uppon his owne Land further threatning to do the Plt a mischief etc. Uppon the defts desier this action is continued untill next Court; and in the meantyme the deft is to bee of the Good behaivor.

Edmond Cantwell High Sherrife in ye Behalfe of or Soueraigne Lord the King Indytes Richard Ducket the

servant of Lace Cock, for y^{t} hee the s^{d} Richard Contrary to the Lawes of the Governm^{t} and Contrary to his Masters Consent hath Kept Company & got wth Child a certaine molato wooman Called Swart anna; desiers punishm^{t} according to Lawe & merrit.

The s^{d} Richard confesses the fact but sayeth y^{t} itt was wth Intention to marry the s^{d} anna, promisses for the future not to frequent the Company of the s^{d} anna, and Ingages to the Court to maintain the s^{d} child as soon he is free etc; The Court did Remit the s^{d} Richard his s^{d} offence uppon his humiliation itt being his masters desiere;

June 14th 1677 Execution Issued out;

Uppon The peticon of Lace Cock, sheweing that John ashman stands Indebted unto him 16 Ells of Serge for a blake horse, as also a mare, by the s^{d} ashman bought of the peticon^{r} desiering that hee may have Judgem^{t} against the s^{d} ashman, and that a mare and horse now attached may bee condemned for the Payment; Justice oele Swensen Informing ye Court about the same, The Co^{rt} ordered Judgement against the s^{d} ashman for a mare & 16 Ells of Serge, and allow of the attachment.

The acc^{t} of Lace Cock for Expensis of the Comander[1]

[1] *John Collier*, who had at this time command of the militia and soldiers on the river, and resided at New Castle, in charge of the fort at that place. He was sub-collector of the customs, and Receiver of the quit rents.

and Justices as also for the Indians att Sachamexin from March ye 14th. till ye 18th. of the sd month ao. 167$\frac{6}{7}$, to the sume of 250 Gilders being produced; The Court did allow of the same and ordered, that when the Levy shall bee Laid that the sd sume shall Lykewyse bee sattisfyed and paid.

WHEREAS Peter andries made itt appeare to the Court (by henry Jones his attorney) that John ashman stood Justly Indebted unto him att his departure out of the Governmt. the quantity of 18 Ells of good Serge; The Court ordered Judgemt. to bee Entered against the sd. John for the sd. 18 Ells of Serge; wth. Costs.

11 Septr 1677 Execution issued out

WHEREAS John Stille made itt appeare to the Court, that John ashman stands Justly Indebted unto him by his bill beareing date ye. 2d. of novembr. ao. 1670, The quantity of twelve hundered and fifty ℔ of tobbacco to bee paid in Chaptank River in maryland deducting foure Yards of Course Kersy Received in part of payment of the sd. bill. The Court ordered Judgemt. to bee Entered against the sd. John ashman for the payment of the said debt wth. the Costs;

Justice Israell Helm Plt.

oele oelsen (als) Coeckoe Deft.

The Plt. Complaines that at the plantatn. of Juns Justesse in his house hee the plt. was first wth Evill words

abused by the deft and afterwards by him beaten and his shirt all torne In peeces by the sd deft and therefore desiers yt the Court will Inflict punishment according to the merrit of the sd deft and that as hee is one of the members of the Court, hee may bee so maintained.

The deft sayeth that the plt hath first struck him etc.

The High Sheriffe, Captn Edm: Cantwell desiers that the Court will take the Case in Consiederacon and not suffer that a Justice of peace shall bee so abused.

The Court haueing Examined into ye whole buisnesse and heard the debates of both partees together wth the Testimony of Lace Coleman, Doe Condemne the said oele oelsen in a fyne of twoo hundered and Ten gilders; sixty thereof for the poore or Church and the Remainder one hundered and fifty gilders to the sherrife, and doe further order yt the sd oele oelsen doe humbly aske forgiueness of Justice Israell helm and the Cort for his sd offence which was openly done by the sd oele In Cort

The Cort & High Sherrife Conciedering that the sd oele was a poore man wth a great Charge of Childeren;—uppon his humble submission did Remit & forgive him the one hundered & fifty Gilders fyne;

WHEREAS Ruth the widdow of Thom: Jeacocx made itt appeare to the Court that John ashman att the tyme of his departure out of the Governmt stood Justly Indebted unto her the sume or quantity of one thousand lb of Tobbacco for a horse to bee paid in goods as they cost in maryland deducting 8 Ells of Lockrum[1] and 4 Ells of blew

[1] Lockram.

Linnen thereuppon Received. and Robberd ashman the father of the s^{d} John ashman Desiering that the s^{d} debt might bee paid; The Court ordered Judgement to bee Entered against the s^{d} John ashman for the said debt wth Costs;

ANTHONY NEALSON P^{lt}
LACE DALBOO Def^{t}

The P^{lt} declares that this def^{t} wthout the Knowledge and order of the P^{lt} hath taken upp his horse, and for some tyme made use thereof, w^{ch} said horse is sence that tyme not seen or to bee found; wherefore the P^{lt} desiers Restitution of the said horse wth Costs; James Sanderling as attorney for the def^{t} desiers a Continuation of this action untill the next Court day; w^{ch} y^{e} Co^{rt} Grant.

HENRY WARD P^{lt}
THO: DENNY Def^{t}

The P^{lt} demands of the def^{t} by bill beareing date 2^{d} of novemb^{r} 1676, the quantity of 400 ℔ Tobb. dutch wth to bee paid in New Castle according to the contents of the s^{d} bill, wth costs. The def^{t} is willing to pay the debt the 10th of octob^{r} next, saying that hee has had his pay Reddy all the Jeare but that the same was not demanded by the P^{lt} and wth all that hee was not tymely arrested etc:

The Court ordered Judgement to be Entered against the def^{t} for the s^{d} 400 ℔ of Tobb. according to bill wth stay of Execution untill the next Court day, wth Costs.

JAMES SANDERLIN Plt
OELE SWENSEN Deft } In an action of debt for 16 foxes.

The debates of both partees being heard; The Cort were proceeding to Judgemt; but before Judgemt was pronounced, The Partees did declare to haue mutually agreed & composed the buisnesse; and that the deft was to pay Costs;

FFRANCIS WALKER Plt
JOHN ASHMAN Deft } an attachmt uppon severall of the defts cowes and horses

The Plt declares that hee the Plt Joyntly wth John ashman bought of Daniell wastcoate of Standford in New England, severall horses and mares, then Running in these woods, for wch horses they alsoo Joyntly past their bond unto the sd wastcoate for 7000 lb of tobbacco certaine and 9000 lb of tobb. uncertain of wch sd horses the deft hath taken upp and Carried away for maryland six horses & mares and one coult whereof the Plt hath never any acct given him by the deft whoe Remains absent out of the Governmt. Wherefore the Plt hath attached severall of the sd horses yet Remaining In these parts, as also some of the defts Cattle, and desiers that his sd attachment may bee allowed of and that hee also may bee paid for the Keepeing of the sd Cattle etc;

The Cort ordered that the Remaining horses of John ashman bee upon Execution and that the sd attachmt stand good; as also that the plt shall bee paid for his Keepeing of the sd Cattle;

Captn Edmond Cantwell is ordered by the Cort to keepe

the Pattents of John Ashman (now in his custodie) untill further order.

Lace Cock and Mathias Holsteiyn are appointed by the Court appraizers of the goods and chattles uppon Execution, belonging unto John ashman, whoe were sworne accordingly.

Albert Hendricx the Constable desiering of the Co^{rt} to bee dismist of his Constables place (hee haueing served out his Jeare); The Co^{rt} Have nominated and appointed William orian, Constable for the Jurisdiction of this Co^{rt} for the Roome of the s^{d} Albert; and was sworne accordingly;

Jurian Hartswelder[1] appearing in Co^{rt} desiered to bee discharged of his place of undersherrife, he Remooveing his Living higher upp the River. The Co^{rt} did Grant unto the said Jurian hartswelder his Request, and wth the approbacon of the Co^{rt} The High Sherrife Capt^{n} Cantwell did appoint Michill Ysard as undersherrife to this Co^{rt} In the Roome of the said Jurian hartswelder.

Niles Laersen is allowed by the Co^{rt} for the Charges and Expensis of the Keeping of the Co^{rt} this tyme one hundered & twenty Gilders

	120	This Co^{rt}
	100	The Last Co^{rt}
	252	before
In all	472 :	Gilders

[1] Jurian Hartsfield or Hartsfelder, who by a Patent from Andros, dated 25 March, 1676, derived title to a tract of 350 acres, to which he removed, called "Hartsfield," situated on the west side of the Delaware, between "Cohocksincks Creeke" on the north, and a "small creeke called Coo-ah-que-nau-que" (Pegg's run) on the south. See volume in office of Sec. of State, Albany, N. Y., endorsed Land Papers [Delaware] p. 25.

The Co^{rt} doe order that the Expensis by Neales Laersen disburst amounting in all to this day to 472 Gilders shall bee found and paid out of the Levy to bee Laid for the defraying of publicq Charges.

The Co^{rt} was adjorned untill the 2^{d} Teusday of the month of September next;

The following orders were made by the Justices before they parted.

The Justices conciedering that before the next Co^{rt} sits to End the difference about the fly[1] of those of Carkoens[2] hock and Lace dalbo; itt will bee too Late to mow the Hay; doe order that hans Peterse and the Reste of Carkoens hoeck doe mow the hay of the s^{d} fly for the p^{r}sent and untill their case bee heard etc.

Itt is ordered by the Co^{rt} viz.

That all declarations must bee Entered att Least the day before the Co^{rt} as when the Clarke is to attend att upplands;

That no p^{r}son bee admitted to plead for any other p^{r}son as an attorney In Co^{rt} wthout hee first have his admittance of the Co^{rt} or have a warrant of attorney for his so doeing from his Clyant;

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[1] *Fly*—Swedish for marsh or meadow.

[2] *Carkoen's Hook*, and still so called, and which must not be confounded with Calcoon's Hook, was the point formed by the junction of Cobb's Creek with Darby Creek, and had for its western boundary Darby, and for its northern, Cobb's Creek. The whole region, however, east of these creeks, as far as the western limits of the Tacony district, was, as will hereafter appear in this Record, designated as "*Carcoen's hoek.*"

Att a Court held att Upland in Delowarr River ye 11th of September ao 1677.

P^rsent { M^R Peter Cock, M^R Peter Rambo, M^R Israel helm, M^R Otto Ernest, M^R Lace Andries, M^R Oele Swensen } Justices

Capt Cantwell High Sherrife

Claes Cram P^lt
Lace Cock Def^t

The p.^lt demands of ye def.^t for bringing of a horse from after colt y^e sume of twenty gilders.

Justice otto declaring how ye case stood, hee haueing been p^rsent; The Court ordered ye pl.^t to Looke for his pay from Michill Jud ye carpender;

Albert Hendricx P^lt
Andries Bertelf Def^t

Severall of ye neighbours being Examined about ye boare in Controversy; Itt was ordered by the Court that the def.^t shall pay halfe the boare to ye pl.^t and pay Lykewyse halfe ye Charges, and ye P.^lt the other halfe;

Andries Homman P.^lt } In an action of assault &
Lace Dalboo def.^t } Battery.

The Court haueing Examined the wittnesses, did condemne the def.^t for his assault In a fyne of twenty and fyve gilders;

ANDRIES ANDRIESSE, ANDRIES JOHNSON
MATHIAS MATHIASSEN, BEN JOHNSON
LACE LACESSEN, PELL ERICKSON
HANS PETERSEN Inhabitants of Carkoensh } Plts
LACE DALBOO Deft

The difference between ye Plt and deft being about a certaine peece of marrish or Valley Lying neare Carkoens hoeck and the Court haueing heard ye debates on both sydes, did order that the plts get Indifferent men they to view ye sd valley and to see whether the plts haue not their quantity and after that (In case Plts and deft can not mutually agree) to send a Peticon and declare the Case to his honor the Governor

MORTON MORTENSE Junior Plt
MOENS STAECKET Deft

The Plt declares that the deft about twoo months sence wthout any Cause did chease this plts wyfe wth an acx and hee ye plt hearing his wyfe cry out was comming to see what was ye matter, att wch tyme ye deft had gott a gun in his hand, threatning this Plt and saying gett ye gone you Rogue and whoore or else I: will shoot you, wthall pointing att him, and yt ye deft att sundry tymes afterwards has gon about to doe ye Plt a misschief, desiers that Deft may bee bound to the good behauior; & pay all Costs;

The deft att first denyed the plts declaration but after sayed that hee knew nothing to say uppon ye plt & his wyfe butt all honesty.

The Court haueing Examined the wittnesses, did Con-

demne the deft in a fyne of fifty Gilders and order ye deft to bee of ye good behauior.

The deft In Court bound ouer to ye Court all his Estate for security of his good behauior for and during the space of one Jeare, The deft to pay Costs;

MORTEN MORTENSE senior Plt
MOUNS SAECKET Deftt
} In an action of slander.

The debates of partees being heard and ye wittnesses Examined; the Court ordered ye deft to declare yt hee knew nothing say against the plt but all honesty, wch the Deft did in open Court, and the deft to pay costs;

The Court this day allotted to ye Clercq Eph: herman for his Last Jeares service trouble & Expensis twoo hundered Gildrs to bee paid him out of ye Levy or tax to bee laid.

Upon The Peticon of Ephraim Herman and Pelle Rambo, desiering a grant of this worppll Court for to take up Each of them three hundered acres of Land aboue up the River betweene pemipkan Creeke and paeqessin Creeke, promissing to seat the same according to ye Regulacons of his honor ye Governor

The Court Grant the Peticonrs their Request they conforming themselves in ye manner of seating according to sd honors Regulacons;

Christian Claesse desiering a grant of ye Court to take up one hundered acres of Land bounded on both sydes wth michill Shoemakers Land,

The Court Granted ye Peticon^{r} his request, hee seating according to ye Regulacons of his hono^{r} ye Governo^{r}

Jan Schoeten desiering a grant of ye Court to take up one hundered acres of Land att ye west syde up in ye Schuylkill,[1] with some marrish,

The Court granted ye peticon^{r} his Request hee seating ye same according to ye Regulacons of his hono^{r} ye Governo^{r}

Richard Ducket desiering a grant of ye Court to take up one hundered acres of Land, up above In ye schuyckil wth a small bitt of marrish on ye east syde of ye Schuylkill

The Court granted the peticon^{r} his Request hee seating the same Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} regulacons.

John mattson, Swen Lom and Lace Dalboo desiering of ye Court to take upp three hundered acres of Land, att ye place Called wiessahitkonk[2] on ye westsyde up in ye Schuyl Kill;

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[1] The Schuylkill is supposed to have been discovered in 1616 by Captain Hendrickson (Hazard's Ann., 6). The name it has been suggested, was derived from the Dutch verb *Schuylen*, to hide "from the retired and hidden situation of its mouth" (Ferris, orig. settlements, p. 70). *Gerrit Van Sweeringen*, in his "account of the settling of the Dutch and Sweedes at the Delaware" (Doc. Relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. ii. p. 342), assigns another reason for the name that "the Sweeds ship sailed up as high as Tenecum hideing themselves in a creeke, therefore is called to this day the Schuyl—Kill, in English Hideing Creeke." The stream, according to Lindstrom, is "Mittabakonck La Riviere de Menejackse" (M. S. Map in Library Amer. Phil. Soc.).

[2] *Wissahiccon*, called by Holm in his "Map of the Province of Pennsilvania," Whitpaine Creek, probably after Richard Whitpaine, who was, according to this map, the owner of several large tracts of land at the head of this creek.

The Court granted the Peticon^{rs} their Request, They seating & Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} orders & Regulations.

Pelle Dalboo desiering of ye Court a grant to take upp twoo hundered acres of Land Just above taokanink[1] Pattent,

The Court granted ye Peticon^{r} his Request, hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons;

Jan Claassen Paerde Cooper desiering a grant to take upp three hundered acres of Land In nishammenies[2] Creeke

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[1] *Taconey.* — According to the Map of the County of Philadelphia by Charles Ellet, jr., 1839, the most reliable one ever published of the County, Frankford Creek, or the main stream, is formed by the junction of the Taconey on the north, with the Wingohocking on the south, at a point immediately west of the town of Frankford, and the stream which empties into Frankford Creek from the north just below the latter town, is called "Little Taconey."

On Hill's "Map of Philadelphia and Environs," 1801–7, better known as the Circular Map, the name of Frankford Creek is given to the "Taconey" as so named by Ellet, as well as to the main stream, and the "Little Taconey" is called Taconey. On Holmes' Map, the general name of Frankford Creek is also applied to the main stream, as well as to the Taconey branch; but the Wingohocking and Little Taconey have no names assigned to them.

The ancient Indian title of the "Taconey" branch as now called, and which it retained after its junction with the Wingohocking, was "*Quessinawomink*," and the Little Taconey was called "*Tawocawomink*." See Return of Survey for Peter Cock, 24 Nov. 1675, for a tract of 650 acres called "Quessmacemink." Walter Wharton's Book of Surveys, Surveyor Genl's Office, Harrisburg.

[2] *Neshaminy*, called by Holmes in his Map of the Province, Neshamenah, and named in the deed between Markham and the Indians (Hazard's Ann., 581), Neshammony.

next unto ye Land of James Sanderling, twoo myll up on ye East syde of the s^{d} Creeke,

The Court granted ye peticon^{r} his Request hee seating ye same according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} regulacons.

Thomas Jacobse desiering of ye Co^{rt} a grant to take upp one hundered acres of Land next unto y^{e} Land of Jan Claassen In Nishammenies Creeke

The Court Granted the Peticon^{r} his request hee seating ye same according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} orders & Regulations;

William Jeacocx desiering of ye Court a grant to take up next unto ye Land of Thomas Jacobs one hundred acres of Land,

The Co^{rt} granted the peticon^{r} his Request hee seating the same according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons.

Lace Cock and James Sanderling desiering of ye Court Each a grant to take up 100 acres of Land a peece Just above paequessink Creeke,

The Court granted the Peticon^{rs} their Request they seating and Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Instructions & Regulations;

Capt^{n} hans moens desiering of ye Court a grant to take up in pemipaks Creeke on ye syde of paequessink Creeke three hundered acres of Land,

The Court granted ye peticon^{r} his Request hee seating & Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} Regulations;

The Governo^{rs} orders to ye Co^{rts} about the recording of

Lands, bearing date 13th of august was openly publisht in Court;

Anthony Nealson & Michill Yzard desiering of ye Court a grant for Each of them to take up above in ye Cromkill[1] one hundered acres of Land;

The Court granted ye Peticonrs their Request they seating the sd Land according to his honor the Governors Regulacons.

Benjamin Goodman desiering of ye Court a grant to take up by ye land of Richard ducket in ye Schuylkill one hundered acres of Land

The Court granted ye: Peticonr his Request hee seating ye same according to his honor ye governors Regulacons.

Laers Laerssen and hans Petersen desiering of ye Court a grant for Each of them to take up above ye mill in amesland[2] Creeke, and the place Called moherhuting one hundered acres of Land for Each of them,

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[1] *Cromkill—Crumkill* is the Swedish for crooked creek, as *Kromkill* is the Dutch for the same. It is designated by Lindstrom in his MS. Map as "Paperack La Riviere Courbie (*i. e.*, Courbe, curved or crooked), ou La Riviere de Tenakons ou Peskohockon." Lindstrom's MS. Map in the Library of American Phil. Society.

[2] *Amesland*, or *Amas-land* Creek, was the present Cobb's Creek, and the present Darby Creek, from the junction of the latter with the former to the river. It was a Swedish designation, and the following *curious* explanation of its origin is given in a note to Acrelius' History, p. 234. "Amas-land, it was formerly called the country of the nurse, one having lived there formerly, where Archard's place now is, for that reason this farm and afterwards the whole region was given the name of the country of the nurses, and now Amas-land." The western boundary of Amasland was the creek called "*Mokormpates*" (the present Mackinipattus). Map of grant to Andres Boon, called "Boon's Forest," April 13, 1680, office of Secretary of State, Albany. The Indian title of the present Darby Creek, is stated by Acrelius, 64, as having been "*Nyecks.*"

The Court granted the Peticon^{rs} their Request they seating s^{d} Land according to ye Regulacons of his hono^{r} ye governo^{r}

The Court haue allowed to nieles Laersen for this Courts sitting one hundered and sixty gilders;

The Clercq was ordered to send to his hono^{r} the Governo^{r} a coppy of ye publicq Charges of this County viz:

To neeles Laersen for ye Courts Expensis to this day Except 200 gilders by Capt^{n} Cantwell paid him before there being no other accommodation for ye Court	ℓ 639
To Lace Cock for Expensis of ye Comand^{r} and Simico Indians Last spring ye acc^{t} being allowed by ye Court	250
The woolves heads in this Co^{rt} not all brought in Jet but Computed by ye Court to	420
To ye Clercq allotted by ye Court for his Severall Extraordinary services to ye Co^{rt} etc	200
To Justice Israell helm for his severall services to ye Contry as Interpreter about ye Indians	400
To Capt^{n} Cantwell w^{ch} hee hath p^{d} to neels Laersen for ye Courts accomodations etc.	200
Justice Otto Ernest for sundry Expensis on ye publicq acct. of w^{ch} hee hath not yet brought In his acc^{t} of perticulars	300
Lace Cock for Expensis when his hono^{r} ye governo^{r} was there,	112
	ℓ 2521

Peter Rambo demands for Expensis when his honor. the Governor. was there 800 gildrs. Capt.n Cantwell proffered in Court to pay him 400 gilders w.ch hee refused, soo that this is left to his honor. to Judge of	800
	£3321

Besides the fees due for ye Collecting the s.d Levy;

N.B. 27 Sept.r 1677 a Coppy of this acc.t sent to his honor. by dirk Smith Hoope

Att a Court held att Upland In Delowar River Teusday the 13.th of Novemb.r 1677

p.rsent

- M.R Peter Cock
- M.R Peter Rambo
- M.R Israell helm
- M.R Lace andries
- M.R otto Ernest Coch
- M.R oele Swensen

} Justices

Upon the Peticon of Peter Ramboo desiering a grant of the Court to take up twoo hundered and fifty acres of Land,[1] between the Land of wicaco and the Land of Jurian hertswelder;[2]

The Court Grant the Peticon.r to take up soe much Land, w.ch is not granted taken up or Improoved, before this date,

[1] The land claimed now forms a part of Philadelphia; but Rambo's application having been resisted by the Swanson's, as will be hereafter seen, on the ground of a prior grant to them, it was not sustained. Some of the Rambos removed to the neighborhood of Norristown, and the name still exists in that vicinity.

[2] Should be Hartsfelder.

hee Improoveing and seating the same according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Regulacons.

SWEN GUNNER P^{lt}
OELE ERICKSON Def^{t} } partees agreed

LUKE WATTSON P^{lt}
JOHN GRAY Def^{t} } This action is Continued by ye pl^{ts} attornes desier

WILL: DERVALL by JOHN ADAMS P^{lt}
JOHN GRAY Def^{t} } Continued as above.

JOHN TEST P^{lt}
NEELES LAERSEN Def^{t}

The P^{lt} demands of the def^{t} for sundry goods and merchandizes by ye def^{t} Received of the P^{lt} as pr acc^{t} produced In Court the sume of one hundered and Eighty six gilders; for w^{ch} sume hee humbly Craeves Judgement agst the def^{t}, wth Costs;

The Court haueing heard the debates, of both partees, doe order that Judgement bee Enterred agst the def^{t} for the s^{d} 186 gilders; and as to what the def^{t} alledgeth that the P^{lt} is In Contra Indebted unto the Def^{t} sence that the p^{lt} will not haue the same deducted The def^{ts} action stands open agst the p^{lt} for the same;

WILLIAM TOM P^{lt}
JONAS NEELSEN Def^{t}

The p^{lt} demands of the def^{t} for fees Earned In the Tyme the P^{lt} was Clercq to this Court, In severall actions according to a Judgm^{t} of the 13th of June 1676; The sume of six pound fifteen shill. and twoo pence;

The Court haueing heard the Cause doe againe order that the defᵗ pay unto the pˡᵗ what fees hee can make appeare to bee due unto him (als) Execution;

Thomas Harwood Pˡᵗ
Hans Jurian Defᵗ

The Pˡᵗ demands of the defᵗ the sume of one hundered and therty nine gilders being the ballance of an acct: by the Pˡᵗ produced In Court;

The deft. Remaining default and the Pˡᵗ haueing made oath: to the ballance of his acct: The Court ordered Judgemᵗ to bee Enterred against the deft. for the sᵈ 139 Gildʳˢ wᵗʰ Costs of suite;

Erick Jurians Pˡᵗ
Erick Cock Defᵗ } partees agreed

William Tom Pˡᵗ
Jan Cornelissen defᵗ

The Pˡᵗ demands for Clercqs fees in the action of Peter Jegon agˢᵗ this defᵗ 16:ˢ 4ᵈ and more for fees about his son 8:ˢ In all the sume of 24:ˢ & 4ᵈ for wᶜʰ hee craues Judgement against the defᵗ wᵗʰ Costs;

The Court haueing heard the debates of both partees doe order that Judgement bee Entered agˢᵗ the defᵗ for sᵈ 24 :ˢ 4ᵈ together wᵗʰ Costs of suit;

Neeles Laersen Pˡᵗ
John Test Defᵗ

The Pˡᵗ Complains that this defᵗ hath been Troublesome to his son about a Knyf, desiers to know the Reason of the same.

The Court haueing heard the debates of both partees; and finding the buisnesse and difference of noe vallue, did order the partees to be frinds and forgive one the other; to w^{ch} the partees agreed Neeles Laersen Ingaging to pay the Clercq and sherrifs fees;

ANDRIES BOEN P^{lt}
MOENS STAECKET Def^{t}

The P^{lt} complains that hee going from his house to Carkoens hoeck, was called in by the way in the Badstoe of Lace Colman where this def^{t} alsoe was; whoe wth many scandalous words abused this P^{lt} and being not sattisfyed wth that fell to beating of the P^{lt} and wounded him in the face as the markes thereof did show; Pelle Erikson and Pelle Laurson being sworne doe afirme the same; The def^{t} desiering a fauorable Censure of the Court; and wth all forgivenesse of the fact; saying that he was in drinke etc; and declaring That hee Knowes nothing to say of the P^{lt} but all honesty—

The Court haueing Examined the whole Circumstance of the buisnesse; doe (In Reguard of the deft^{s} humble submission) only Condemne him in a fyne of one hundered Gilders to be paid according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} orders; The Court forgiving the deft. his breatch of the behauior & ordering him to pay the costs of Suite;

THOMAS HARWOOD P^{lt}
JOHN STILLE Def^{t} } partees agreed

THOMAS HARWOOD P^{lt}
JOHN CLAASS Def^{t} } partees agreed

Lace Colman Pelle Laersen and Peter Erickson desiering of the Court a grant to take up neare the faalls of the Schuylkill three hundered acres of land;

The Court Granted the Peticon^rs their request they seating and Improoveing s^d. Land according to his hono^r. the governo^rs. Regulacons;

Neeles Laersen desiering of the Court a grant to take up neare the Land Granted by the Governo^r. to Justice Israell helm up the River twoo hundered acres of Land;

The Court Granted ye same hee seating & Improoveing s^d. Land according to his hono^r. the Governo^rs. Regulations;

Jonas Neelsen desiering of the Court Liberty to take up in the place called moherhuting above the mill on the west syde of the Run two hundered acres of Land,

The Court Granted the same hee seating & Improoveing s^d. Land according to his Hono^r. the Governo^rs. Regulacons;

Hans Boen desiering Liberty of the Court to take up on the East syde of a Little Creeke w^ch. comes out of amesland[1] Creeke called mohurmipati[2] twoo hundered acres of Land,

[1] The present Darby Creek.

[2] Mohurmipatti, corrupted from Mokormpates or Mokornipalas, which latter has since been changed to Mackinipa or Mackinipattus, the stream which empties into Darby Creek to the west of Big Thoroughfare Creek. *Penna. Archives*, i. 28. Records in office of Secretary of State, Albany.

A friend of the editor was, some time during the summer of 1857, standing near the point here indicated, when Andrew Boon, a veritable descendant of Hans, paddled towards him in his boat to hold a conversation. With a very little exercise of the imagination, he was carried back to the time when the only mode of communication among the primitive Swedes, was by their favorite element the water, and when the name of Penn had probably never been heard by them. This long possession, in direct descent, and in the same name, dates from the reign of Charles II. Local histories may yet exhibit more examples of this love of "paternal acres."

The Court grant the same, The Peticon^{r} seating and Improoveing said Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Regulations;

Moens Staecket desiering Liberty of the Court to take up one hundered acres of Land next above the Land granted to hans boen;

the Court granted the Peticon^{rs} Request hee seating and Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Regulacons;

Jan Boelsen desiering Liberty of the Court to take up one hundered acres of Land above the mill in amesland Kill. The Court granted the Peticon^{rs} Request hee seating and Improoveing the s^{d} Land according to his Hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons.

Justice otto Ernest Coch Jan hendrix & albert hendrix desiering Liberty of the Court for Each of them to take up twoo hundered acres of Land between Calebs Creek and the Pyn tree — The Court Granted the Peticon^{rs} Request they seating and Improoveing s$_{d}$ Land according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons;

Jacob hendrix desiering of the Court Liberty to take up one hundered acres of Land above on ye East syde of ye Crom kill — The Court Granted the same the Peticon^{r} seating and Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Regulacons,

James Sanderling and Lace Cock desiering of the Court an addition of twoo hundered acres of Land to the former Grant of this Court; it's granted they seating & Improove-

ing s^{d} Land as well as the other according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons:

Jan Schoeten desiering of the Co^{rt} a grant to take up 200 acres of Land above in the Schuylkill

The Court granted the Peticon^{rs} Request hee seating & Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} Regulacons;

William orian acknowledged In Court a deed of sale of his Land & appurtenances Lying in marretties[1] kill unto Richard noble The articles of agreem^{t} beare date the 10th of octob^{r} 1677.

Jan Jansen of marretties kill desiered of the Court a grant to take up one hundered acres of Land behind In oplands kill,[2]

The Court Granted the Peticon^{r} his Request hee seating and Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} Regulacons.

The Court haue ordered M^{r} Will: Tom the former Clercq was ordered to deliver the Records of this Court to the p^{r}sent Clercq Ephraim herman The s^{d} M^{r} Tom being sent for and apearing in Court promissed to doe the same;

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[1] *Marretties Kill*, called by Lindstrom (MS. Map), "*Memanchitonna* and *Marikes Kyl*, La Riviere *de Marikes*," by Holmes (Map of Province), *Marcus* Creek; it is now known as Chichester Creek, and formed the upper boundary of the Marcus Hook patent for 1000 acres jointly granted in 1676 to Jan. Hendrickson and five others.

[2] Opland's Kill. By Lindstrom "uplands Kyl vel Tequirasi," now Chester Creek. The Indian name of the region bordering on the creek was Mecoponacka.

Hans Petersen and Dom: Laurentius Corolus; declared that they had this day mutually agreed about their processe of the mare In manner following viz: That Each of them was to pay halfe of all the Charges w^{ch} had accrued by s^{d} process, and that dom: Laurentius was to pay ouer and above the s^{d} halfe the sume of twenty and five gilders; and hans Petersen declared that hee would haue nothing more to doe wth s^{d} mare The Court did order that their s^{d} agreement should bee soe Recorded;

Capt^{n} Hans Inrgex[1] (?) is ordered & desiered by the Court to warne his men belonging to his Company and wth them to fitt up and finish ye house of defence att upland fitt for the Court to sitt in against ye next Court.

Laurens Cock Israell helm moens Cock andries Benckson Ephraim herman Casperes Herman, Swen Lom, John dalbo, Jasper fiske, Hans moensen, frederik Roomey, Erik mulk, gunner Rambo, Tho: Harwood Erik Cock, Jan Cock, Peter Jockum, Peter Cock Junior, Jan Stille, Jonas neelsen, oele Swensen James Sanderling mathias mathiass debos and william orian; p^{r}ferring In Court a Peticon sheweing that they the above s^{d} Peticon^{rs} (being all Inhabitants and for the most part borne and brought up in this River and parts, haue a great Inclination as well

[1] Hans *Jargin*, an officer under Collier in command of the militia at Upland. The latter was, in 1676, commissioned by Gov. Andros "Commander in Delaware Bay and River," and was "to take care that the militia in the several places be well armed, duly exercised, and kept in good order and discipline." . . . Hazard's Ann., 425. The matter of "Military affaires" was the subject of some elaborate provisions "in the Duke's Lawes."

for the strength of the River and parts as for the Convenience of Travelers and otherwayes, to settle together in a Towne att the west syde of this River Just below the faalls. Doe therefore humbly Request this worpp^ll^ Court to move the Case to his hono^r^ the Governo^r^, that they the peticon^rs^ may haue Each of them In Lotts Laid out one hundered acres of Land, w^th^ a fitt proportion of marrish as alsoe that a fitt place for a Towne may bee Laid out In the most Convenient place thereabouts w^th^ such priviledges and Libertys for their Incouragement as shall bee thought fitt, and that the same may bee confirmed unto them by his hono^r^ the governo^r^ and the peticon^rs^ will forthwith seat accordingly etc;[1]

The Court answer that they will send the Peticon^rs^ Petition to his hono^r^ the governo^r^ and withall moove and Intreat the governo^r^ In their behalfe.

A Copy of his Hono^r^ the Governo^rs^ Letter to this Court, viz:

GENTLEM:

I: haue writt to ye Comander and this is to acquaint you also y^t^ haueing his Roy^ll^ highnesse Leaue for my owne occasions this winter so as to Returne in the Spring all things being all well trough the Governm^t^ I intend God willing going home in a ship bound here for London Leauing all things to Remaine in all partes of the governm^t^ as now

[1] It does not appear that this application for a grant below the Trenton falls was ever conceded, or the settlement made. As the Indian title to the land immediately below the falls at Trenton had not then been extinguished, Andross was not willing the ground should be occupied, and for this reason the petition may have been rejected.

settled, and therefere Recommend yo^r being verry vigilent and carefull (wich I: will not doubt) for the due administrat^n of Justice in your severall stations and perticularly that Inferior officers doe their dutys for the good & quiet of their Respective places according to Law; any apeales to bee to the Court of azzises, w^ch^ on Extraordinarys may bee sent to the Secretary Capt^n nicolls here. and if occasion to bee communicated to the Councill I: am

(The superscription was)

For the Justices or magistrates of the Court of upland in Delowar River

Att Upland

Yo^r affectionate frind to serve you.

The Court takeing into Consideracon the Levy or Pole monny for the defraying of the publicq Charges whereof the acct. was made upp the Laest Court and Calling ouer the List of the Tydable p^r^sons in their Jurisdiction doe find that for the payment of the s^d^ Charges from Every Tydable p^r^son must bee collected and Received the sume of twenty and six gilders to bee paid in Either of the following species (viz.) wheat at fyve — Rey and Barly att four Gilders pr scipple,[1] Indian Corne at three gilders pr scipple Tobbacco at 8 styvers pr pound porke at Eight and bacon at 16 styvers pr ℔.: or Elce In wampum or skins att pryce Courrant; The Court further ordering and Impowring the high Sherrife Capt^n^ Edmond Cantwell to Receive and Collect the same sume of 26 gilders from Every Tydable in the annexed List set downe, and In case any

[1] *Scheepel*, Dutch for bushel.

p[r]son shall Refuse the payment of the same the said high sherrife is hereby Impowred by the Court to use Restraint upon any Refusing as before and after such Restraint to call together twoo of the neigbours and apraize the goods so strayned as before Returning the ouerplus (if any happen to bee) to the owner, and the s[d] high sherrife to deliver in the accompts & bee accomptable to the Court of his said Receipts, betweene this and the 25[th] of march next. The Sherrife to haue for his paynes in Collecting the said Levy after the Rate of 5 :[s] in the pound;

The Court haue allowed to Neeles Laersen for this Courts sitting the sume of twoo hundered gilders; and the Clercq ordered to Enter the same;

The Co[rt] adjorned till 2[d] Teusday of march next—

A List of the Tydable p[r]sons[1]

att Taokanink (*Taconey*).

oele neelsen & 2 sons	3	Christiaen Tomasse	1
hans moens	1	Casper fisck	1
Erick Poulsen	1	Peter Jookum & serv[t]	2

[1] Hereditary surnames are said to have been unknown in Sweden before the 14th century (Lower's English surnames, 7). A much later date must be assigned as the period when they became permanent, for surnames were not in every case established among the Swedes in Pennsylvania, until some time after the arrival of Penn, when intermarriage and the more rigid usage of the English, compelled them to adhere to the *last* combination; as for example with respect to the name of *Olle Paul-son*, the "son" became permanently affixed to the name, and ceased to distinguish the degree of relationship. No little confusion, as an examination of early deeds will prove, has also arisen from the transposition of names. For instance, Eric Goranson, is Eric the son of Goran, and Goran Erickson is Goran the son of Eric (Watson's Ann., ii., 232). Peter Petersen is Peter the son of Peter, and Swensen was originally Swen. Nilson or Neelsen may be found transposed to Jones, as in the case of the sons of Jonas

hans Jurian	1	oele Stille	1
michill fredericks	1	andries Benckes	1
Justa Daniels & servant	2	Jan mattson	1
Jonas Juriaensen	1	dunck Williams	1
Hend. Jacobs upon y^{e} Isl^{d}	1	Tho: Jacobs	1
Erick Cock & servant	2	Jan Claassen & 2 sons	3
moens Cock	1	mathias Claassen	1
Peter nealson	1	franck walcker	1
gunnar Rambo	1	Will Thomasse	1
Lace Cock & servant	2	Peter matson	1
michill nealson	1	Jan Boelsen	1
andris Swen & father	2	Jan Schoeten	1
oele Swensen his servant	1	Jan Justa & 2 sons	3
Swen Swensen & son	2	Jonas nealson & son	2
John Stille[1]	1	Peter andries & son	2
Swen Lom	1		51

Nilson, who are styled Mouns, Andrew and Neils *Jones.* Patent Bk A., 696, *Phil.* Sometimes an alias lends its aid to puzzle the enquirer, as in the case of "Peter Matson, alias Dalboo," "Peter Lykell alias Nealson." Deed Bk E., 4, 339. Will Bk A., 352, *Phil.* The names of Jans Justassen (alias Illack), and Pelle Laersen (alias Put pelle), in a subsequent part of this record, may also be instanced. The different modes in which the same name is spelt, sometimes occurring in the christian, sometimes in the surname, is another source of confusion, examples of which may be found upon almost every page of this Record.

The orthography of many of the names in the above list of "*Titheables,*" has in the course of time been materially changed. *Benckes* or *Bengsten,* is now Bankson; *Boen,* has become Boon or Bond; *Swen* or *Sven,* Swanson; *Cock,* Cox; *Jookum,* Yocum; *Kien* or *Kyn,* Keen (Clay's Annals of the Swedes, 169); Mortense, Morton. Laurens or Lasse Cock, son of Oele Cock, was afterwards called Oelsen, which name was retained by his descendants, some of whom named Allison now or recently held property derived from their ancestor Oele Cock.

[1] John Stillé was born near Tinicum, in the year 1646, and died on the 24th April, 1722, and was buried in the church-yard of the Swedes Church at Wicacoa, where his tomb-stone still remains. He was one of the original trustees of that Church, and the pastor in recording his death, adds: "He lived a godly life in this world." His father, Olof Stillé, was doubtless one of the original Swedish colonists, as his passport or certificate of character bears date December 2, 1634. Olof Stillé came from the lord-

Lace Dalbo	1
Rynier Peterssen	1
oele dalboo	1
andries Boen	1
Swen Boen	1
Pelle Rambo Junior	1
andries Rambo	1
Richard Duckett	1
m[r] Jones ye hatter	1
Joseph Peters	1
Jan Cock	1
Peter Cock Junior	1
harmen Ennis	1
arian andries at Peter Ramboos	1

ATT CARKOENS HOEK

andries homman & son	2
Pelle Ericksen	1
Benck Saling	1
andries Saling	1
Laers Boer	1
hans Peters	1
Pelle Puttke	1
harmen Jansen	1
hendrick holman	1

CALKOENS HOEK

mort mortens[n] Junior	1
Bertell Laersen	1
moens Staecket	1
hans Jurian	1
hendrik Tade	1
andries bertelsen	1
Jan Bertelsen	1
Jan Corneliss[n] & son	2
mort: mortense senior	1
Lace mortense	1
neeles matson	1
from ye other syde	87
anthony matson	1
hendrik Jacobs	1
Jacob hendricx	1

UPLAND

Claes Schram	1
Robberd waede	1
Jan hendricx	1
Rich: Bobbinghton	1
James Sanderling & slaue	2
John Test & servant	2
Jurian kien	1
Rich: noble	1

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ship of Penningby and Nyanes, in the duchy of Lodermania, about 30 miles south of Stockholm, then in possession of the noble family of Bielke. He resided below Tinicum, on a tract of land marked in Lindstrom's map "Stille's land," and called by the Indians "*Techorassi*," or *Tequirasi*, and seems to have been one of the principal men of the colony, as we find him deputed by Governor Printz as the bearer of the official protest made by the Swedes to the Dutch Director, against the encroachments of the West India Company on the rights of the Swedish Crown on the Delaware. In 1658, after the Dutch took possession of the country, he was one of four commissaries or magistrates appointed to administer justice among the inhabitants, and thus became a judge of the first Court of which history gives us information, among the Europeans on the banks of the Delaware. He was also employed in various negotiations with the neighboring colonists and with the Indians, by whom he was styled "the man with the black beard." He died about the year 1666. He was the ancestor of the present Stillé family.

neeles Laersen & son	2
henry hastings	1
will: woodman & servant	2
John hayles	1
mich: Yzard	1

MARR: KILL[1]

Jan Jansen	1
will orian	1
Daniell Linsey	1
morten Knoetsen	1
Knoet mortensen	1
albert hendricx	1
oele Coeckoe	1
Carell Jansen	1
oele Raessen	1
Thom: Denny	1
John Browne	1
Rich: fredericx	1
hans oelsen	1
Tho: harwood	1
Jurian hertsveder	1
andries Inckhoorrn	1
Rodger Pedrick	1
Christiaen Claassen	1
Jacob Clocker	1
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EASTERN SHOURE[2]

oele Dircks	1
will Bromfield	1
Juns Justasse	1
Lace Colman	1
hans hofman an his 2 sons	3
Peter freeman	1
moens Junsen	1
Poull Corvorn	1
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136 Tydables in upland Jurisdiction[3]

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[1] Marretties-Kill, or Marcus Hook.

[2] Although the Duke of York had renewed his grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, Andros, under his sanction, claimed the government of West Jersey, which will explain why the limits of Upland jurisdiction were extended over a portion of the territory of that Province.

[3] See note A. at end of Record.

Copia New Yorke august ye: 14th: 1677

Gentlemen

These are to desire & authorize you to treat wth: ye Indians Proprietors for ye purchazing of a small tract of Land wch: I: am informed is not yett purchazed and is about halfe a dutch or twoo English miles along the River side betwixt yor: Land and the Late purchaze up to the faals, wch: done I: shall forthwith take Care for settling those parts,[1] I: doe not thinke of makeing any Change in yor: Cort: this Jeare not doubting yor: Continued Care for ye kings and Countrys service, and Remayne

Yor: affectionate frind

(Signed) E. Andross

By the Governor:

By vertue of my authority under his Roy: Highnesse, I: doe hereby desire & Requier all prsons that haue or Clayme any Land in Delowar River and Bay that they doe wthout delay or assoone as Conveniently may bee make a due Returne to the Clercq of ye Cort: in whose Jurisdiction said Land Lyes of such their Land quantity & scituation according to ye surveigs Platts or Cards thereof, and the sd Courts to make a Returne of the whole unto mee, and whether seated and Improoved that all such wanting grannts or pattents may haue them dispatched and sent, This order to bee publisht in the severall Courts wch: to take Care therein, and surveigors alsoe to give notice and

[1] The Governor on the 14th April, 1677, made a request similar to this of the Court at New Castle (Hazard's Ann., 437).

see itt bee observed where hee shall Know or find the defect acturn, In New Yorke this 13th day of august 1677 :[1]

(Signed) E. Andross.

Past ye office
W Nicolls, Clr

Forte James ye 19th of May 1677

Prsent ye: Governor & whole Councill

Resolved and ordered that pleading[2] attorneys bee no Longer allowed to practize in ye govermnt but for ye: depending Causes

Copy of ordr in Councill
(Signed) W. Nicolls Clercq

The above standing were agayne for ye second tyme this Cort day openly Read in full Cort

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[1] One of the "regulations and orders" under which lands were granted was "that if the purchasors shall not within three years after the Survey plant Seat or Inhabit upon the said purchasse they shall forfeit their Right, Title, and Interest therein" "Lawes" Title "*Land*," Col. N. Y. His. Soc. (1811), i. 360. The forfeiture of land under this provision, and in some cases the desire to escape a forfeiture, will account for the instances of fresh grants to other parties for the same tract, and for the many *confirmatory* patents which were issued.

[2] The reason for this prohibition does not appear.

Att a Court held att Upland In Delowar River by his mayᵗˡˢ authority, march ye 12ᵗʰ annoq Dom. 167⅞

p^{r}scnt — Mᴿ Peter Cock, Mᴿ Peter Rambo, Mᴿ Israel helm, Mᴿ Lace andries, Mᴿ Otto Ernest Cock, Mᴿ Oele Swensen } Justices

Luke Wattson by Edm: Cantwell his attorn } Pˡᵗ
John Gray — Defᵗ

Neither Pˡᵗ or defᵗ appearing a nonsuit was ordered by Default;

John addams in the Behalfe of his Mastᵣ Will: Dervall the attorney of John Foster } Pˡᵗ
John Gray — Defᵗ

The Plᵗ as attorney & substitute of his mastᵣ William Dervall whoe is the Lawfull attorney & assigne of John foster of ye Island of Barbados merchant, declares that this defᵗ stands Justly Indebted unto ye: sᵈ Will: Dervall, by his bill unto the sᵈ foster for his this defᵗ one sixth part of ye sd: bill the full and Just quantity of seven Thousand seven hundred & six pounds of good & merchandable Tobbacco & Caske to bee paid the one halfe thereof ye: 10ᵗʰ of novembʳ now Laest past and the other halfe to be paid the 10ᵗʰ of Novembʳ next ensuing in some Convenient place in the whoorekill County as by the said bill bearing

date ye 5th of June 1677 more att Large doth apeare; and ye Plt haueing often demanded ye payment of ye sd debt that is to say the one halfe thereof wth Security for ye Remainder, Yet hee hath not Received any part thereof to this day, wherefore ye sd Plt humbly Craues of this worppll Cort (sence ye: deft. has Remooved himselfe from the whoorekill) that hee may haue Judgemt agst. ye deft wth costs; and desires that ye boate belonging to this Deft and by the Plt arrested may bee Condemned & publicqly sould for part of paymt wth Costs,

The deft being default, and the Plt makeing the Justness of his debt apeare, The Court ordered Judgemt to bee Entered against the defendant according to the Plts declaration for the payment of ye one halfe of ye aforesd debt now due wth Security for ye Remainder; and doe hereby order that the attached boate bee sould att an open outcry by the vendu mastr on Satturday ye 23th of this Instant month of march, att ye Towne of New Castle, and that ye produce thereof bee Received by the Plaintife In part of payment of ye abovesd Debt wth ye Costs;

Daniell Linsey Plt
John Johnson Deft

The Cort haueing heard ye Cause doe find both partees faulty & defective and therefore doe order as followeth

That the deft pay the Plt according to agreement and as for ye wintring of ye Cowe and ye sowes The Plaintife Ingaged In Cort to discount and allow to ye deft: one of ye sowes due for ye same, and that the deft deliver more to ye Plt twoo good Sowes and Each to pay halfe ye Costs;

ANTHONY WOODHOUS Plt. } an attachmt. upon ye defts.
HENRY BOAMAN Deft. } goods etc:

The Cort. by the Request of ye undersherrife continued this action until ye next Cort. day;

MATTHIAS MATHIASSEN Plt } an attachmt. of a cowe in
SAMUELL COALES Deft. } ye hands of andries Benckson;

Neither Plt. or defendt. apearing The Cort. ordered a nonsuit agst. ye Plt.

JOHANNES DE HAES Plt.
WILLIAM ORIAN Deft.

The Plt. demands of ye deft. by ballance of acct. for sundry goods etc. by ye Deft. Received of ye Plt. ye sume of one hundered seventy & Eight gilders & 4 styvers; for wch. sd sume ye Plt. humbly Craues Judgement and that a Certayne Cowe belonging to this Deft. now in ye hands of albert hendriks & by ye Plt. attached may bee apraized etc:

The Cort. haueing heard the debates of both partees and the Plt. haueing in Cort. made oath to ye Justnesse of his acct., The Cort. ordered Judgemt. to bee Enterred against the deft. for ye payment of ye sd G 178, 4 wth Costs and doe order that the attached Cowe bee appraized by twoo Indifferent prsons for the paymt. of ye abovesd. Judgemt. wth. Costs. albert hendriks & Jan Jansen are by the Cort. appointed apraizers of ye abovesd. attached Cowe;

Robberd Hutchinson as ye attorney of his Brother Ralph hutchinson whoe is ye Lawfull attorney & assignee of Daniell Juniper of accomacq, This day apeared in Court

and did in ye p^{r}sence of ye Court declare to haue sould assigned and sett ouer unto M^{r} Israell Helm then also there p^{r}sent his heirs and assigns a Certayne man Servant named Wiliam Bromfield for ye terme & space of four Jears servitude now next Ensuing, w^{ch} s^{d} servant did formerly belong unto ye abovenamed Juniper whoe hath Impowred y^{e} s^{d} Ralph to dispose thereof for and In Consideracon whereof the s^{d} M^{r} Israell Helm did promise to pay & sattisfy unto ye s^{d} Ralph or his order ye full sume of twelve hundered Gilders, to bee paid according to an agreement made between them the s^{d} Robberd & Israell;

The abovenamed servant William Bromfield being in Co^{rt} did promisse to serve the s^{d} m^{r} Israell helm faithfully & truely the aboves^{d} terme of four Jears;

The worpp^{ll} Co^{rt} (upon ye Request of both partees conserned) Did order that w^{ch} is abovesaid to bee so Recorded.

JOHN MOLL attorney
for Tho: Heynson of maryl^{d} } P^{lt}
CHRISTOPHER BARNES Def^{t}

The Co^{rt} upon ye Def^{ts} Earnest Request haue Referred this Case until ye next Court

Upon ye Peticon of Edmond Cantwell desiering Execution upon one serv^{t} & twoo Cowes belonging unto Xtopher Barnes mortgaged unto him ye Peticon^{r} for ye payment of 1870 ℔ of tobb^{o} & Caske; The s^{d} Xtopher Barnes desiering of ye Co^{rt} that this Case might be suspended untill next Court alledgeing that the debt was not demanded, and that hee would Endevour to pay

the same now out of hand; The Co^{rt} suspended Execution untill next Court,

Upon ye Peticon of Peter Rambo & Pelle Dalbo desiering a grant and Liberty to take up on ye East syde of ye Schuylkill Each 200 acres of Land—

The Co^{rt} granted the same the said Peticon^{rs} seating & Improoveing the s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} orders & Regulations;

Upon the Peticon of Andries Benkson desiering Liberty & a grant to take up 200 acres of Land in the Schuylkill,

The Court Granted ye same, the Peticon^{r} seating & Improoveing the said Land, according to his Hono^{r} the Gouernos orders & Regulacons;

Upon ye Peticon of Lace andries in the behalfe of John Wheeler & andrees Wheeler desiering a grant to take up for them boath 300 acres of Land in ye Schuylkill;

The Co^{rt} granted to ye s^{d} John and andries Liberty to take up 300 acres of Land they seating and Improoveing ye s^{d} Land according to his Hono^{r} ye Governo^{rs} orders & Regulacons;

Upon ye Request of John Test & michill Jzard desiering Liberty & a grant to take up Each 400 acres of Land;

The Co^{rt} granted the same They the Peticon^{rs} seating & Improoveing s^{d} Land according to the Regulacons & orders of his Hono^{r} ye Governo^{r}

Upon ye Request of andries Jonsen Inckhooren desiering a grant to take up 200 acres of Land in the Schuylkill Just before Bever Island;

The Co^{rt} granted the same hee seating & Improoveing the said Land according to his Hono^{r} the Governo^{rs} orders & Regulacon;

Upon the Peticon of Lace Dalbo and Oele Dalbo desiering Liberty & a grant to take up Each 100 acres of Land on the East syde of ye Schuylkill,

The Co^{rt} granted ye same they the Peticon^{rs} seating & Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r} ye Governo^{rs} orders & Regulacons;

Itt being Represented to ye Court that by Reason of ye Peoples dayly takeing up of Land neare the mill[1] of Carkoen Creeke, The s^{d} mill would bee Left destitute of any Land to gett Timber for ye use of ye s^{d} mill, The Co^{rt} therefore ordered that on the west syde of ye s^{d} mill branch should bee Laid out 100 acres of Land for ye said mills use;

Upon the Request of James Sanderling and Henry Hastings desiering to take upp Each 200 acres of Land

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[1] This was the Swedish mill at Amesland Creek, or as it is here called, "Carkoens" Creek, *Carkoens* having been a corruption of "*Kakarikonk*," the name conferred upon the region by the Indians. It was erected by Governor Printz in 1643, and was the first water-mill built within the territory now embraced within the limits of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Printz, in his Report to the West India Company, Feb. 20, 1647, says . . . "this place I have called Mondal, building there a water mill, working it the whole year along, to great advantage for the country, particularly as the windmill formerly here before I came, would never work and was good for nothing" (Swedish MSS. Archives, Hist. Soc. Penn.). The site is well known, and is upon the road to Darby, the oldest highway in Pennsylvania, and the holes sunk into the rock in which the posts which supported the frame-work of the mill were placed, are still to be seen near the Blue Bell tavern.

The Co^{rt} granted ye same They the Peticon^{rs} seating and Improoveing the said Land according to the Regulacons & orders of his Hono^{r} ye governo^{r} the governo^{r}

Anthony Nealson Long brought in Co^{rt} a certayne man servant named William Goaf whoeme hee has bought of moens Petersen for the full Terme of three Jears servitude The s^{d} William Goaf being p^{r}sent In Co^{rt} did owne the same and did faithfully promis to serve his said master honestly and truely ye aboves^{d} Terme of 3 Jears;

Hans Juriansen Kien of Taokanink This day apeared in Co^{rt} and then & there did aknowledge a deed of conveigance bearing date the 9th day of this Instant month of march for the makeing ouer unto his Brother Jonas Juriansen Kien, as followeth viz: one Equall sheare and Lott of Land In quantity Equall wth ye shears & Lotts of ye: other Inhabitants of upland Towne or neighbourhood, wth all and singular the appurtenances Lying & Being in Upland aforesaid, The whole devident or tract of Land being heretofore surveiged & Laid out for ye six Inhabitants of upland Towne in generall Contaynes twelve hundered acres whereof the part & sheare of line the said Hans Kien being one of ye said six Inhabitants is Twoo hundered acres as well Cleared Land as wood Land; w^{ch} said 200 acres was thereby sould and made ouer as above, together wth the housing and other appurtenances standing upon the said Hans Kien his Lott of Land Lying and being att upland Towne aforesaid near the Creeke, betweene the houses & Lotts of James Sanderling and Jurian Kien; The said hans Kien did aknowledge alsoe to haue Received sat-

tisfaction for the p^{r}misses from him the said Jonas; as by the said deed signed sealed & delivered by the s^{d} hans Kien in the p^{r}sence of Johannes De haes & John addams & bearing date as above more att Large did apeare;

Jonas Juriansen Kien apearing in Court did then & there aknowledge & owne a deed of Conveigance & Transport for the makeing ouer for ever unto John Test Late of London merch^{t} his heirs & assignes, al that the Land housing & appurtenances abovementioned By his Brother hans Kien the 9th day of this Instant month of march Transported & made ouer unto him the s^{d} Jonas Juriansen and aknowledged by him the said hans kien this p^{r}sent Court; Itt being for and In Consideracon of Certayne sume of money by the s^{d} John Test to him the s^{d} Jonas kien In hand paid; alsoe the s^{d} Jonas by his s^{d} deed of Conveigance did Transport & make ouer unto the s^{d} John Test a certayne new Blocqhouse by him the s^{d} Jonas built on the abovementioned Lott neare ye water syde of ye Creeke aforesaid; wth all and singular the appurtenances; w^{ch} aboves^{d} deed & Conveigance bears date the 11th day of this Instant month of march and was signed sealed & delivered by the s^{d} Jonas kien in the p^{r}sence of Joh: De haes and John addams;

John Test Late of London but now of Delowar merchant apearing in Co^{rt} did then & there aknowledge & owne a certayne deed of Conveigance for ye makeing ouer for Ever unto Marmaduke Randell of London merchant his heirs and assignes all that the Land housing and appurtenances abovemenconed by Jonas Kien the 11th of this Instant

month of march Transported and made ouer unto him the said John Test—Itt being for and In consideracon of Certayne sume of money to him the said John Test in hand secured as by the said deed bearing date ye 12th day of this Instant month of march signed, sealed & delivered by the sd John Test to ye use of him ye abovementioned Marmaduke Rendall, In the prsence of Johannes de haes & John Addams more att Large doth & may apeare;

Neeles Mattsen apearing in Cort did assigne Transport and make ouer unto James Sanderlins of upland his heirs & assignes, a Certayne Pattent granted by governor Richard Nicolls unto him the sd Sanderlin ye 6th day of august 1668, wch said Pattent was formerly by the sd Sanderlin made ouer unto him the said neeles matsen. The contents of ye afores^d Pattent being as followeth viz: Whereas there are twoo Lotts of Land in upland att delowar upon ye north syde of the Creeke or kill next and adjoyning to Izraell Helms & Joost Daniels Land and bounded wth villus Lace Containing in breth six & therty yards, wch sd Lotts haueing been Laid out by ye officers att delowar Ly unmanured and undisposed of, To ye End some good Improovemt may bee made Know yee that by vertue etc;

New Castle march ye 9th 167⅞

Gentlemen

William orian Smith who Resides in the prcincts of yor Cort was here arrested and Condemned to pay unto mr henry Ward ye sume of 130 gilders Including Court Chargis, hee upon humble Request obtayned the fauour of us that wee ordered Execution to be suspended untill 8, 8m Laest past,

so that wee made o^{r}selves debto^{rs} or att Least Securitys for him, hee being Lately here promissed mee faithfully not to depart from hence till hee had fully sattisfyed the said debt, but sence hee verry unworthily has broake his promis, ou^{r} Requst is you will bee pleased to send the said William orian secure unto us, so that hee may pay his said Debt and answer for his Bold perremtory attempt and wee shall bee verry Reddy to serve & Indemnify you in the Lyke Kinde; wishing you all health & happinis I: Rest,

Yo^{r} Lov: frinde:

JN^{o} MOLL President[1]

The supperscription was
To the wopp^{ll} Co^{rt} of
upland, These
p^{r} M^{r} Eph. Herman,

The Co^{rt} upon the abovesaid Letter of Justice John Moll p^{r}sident, ordered that the high sherrife or his Deputys may take the s^{d} Will: orian in Custodie Wherever they find him In this Co^{rts} Jurisdiction, and Securely Carry him downe to New Castle wherever they find him according to desire;

Upon y^{e} desire of Ephraim Herman Clercq to this Co^{rt} the Co^{rt} haue Granted him ye following Certificate viz:

Wee underwritten the Justices of ye Co^{rt} of upland in delowar River doe hereby Certify and declare unto all whome itt doth or may Conserne, that m^{r} Ephraim Herman being by the Right Hono^{rble} Governo^{r} Edmond andros Com-

[1] A title now applied to the presiding Judge of our Courts of Common Pleas and District Courts, and which was perhaps suggested by this early designation given to the "eldest or presiding judge" of each of the Courts at Upland, New Castle, and Horekills.

missionated Clarke to this Co^{rt} hath in his said office & Imploy Ever sence and in all other publicq Consernes behaued himself vigilant carefull & honest, hee haueing Carefully & fully discharged his Duty therein and Lykewyse hath behaued himself Civilly & hath Given sattisfaction to all People This to o^{r} knowledge wee Certify and in Testimony of ye truth hereof wee haue hereunto sett o^{r} hands being assembled & sitting in Co^{rt} at upland this 12 day of march 167$\frac{7}{8}$

LACE ANDRIES LOCEINUS PETER COCK
OELE SWENSEN
OTTO ERNEST COCK ISRAELL HELM

Neeles Laersen brought In his acc^{t} for ye Charges of this Co^{rts} sitting to ye sume of Seventy gilders w^{ch} ye C^{rt} allowed of;

The High Sherrife being heretofore ordered to bring In his accompt of ye Receipt of ye Levy etc the 25th day of march Instant, The Co^{rt} haue therefore appointed a meeting to bee held by them the first day of aprill att upland;

The Co^{rt} adjorned untill ye 2^{d} Teusday of June next.

Att a Meeting of the Justices of upland held att the house of Justice Peter Cock in ye Schuylkill, this 3^{d} of aprill 1678:

p^{r}sent — M^{R} Peter Cock, M^{R} Peter Rambo, M^{R} Israell helm, M^{R} Oele Swensen — Justices

The acct: of ye publicq Charges being Lookt over, was found to bee as followeth till this date (viz) is debto^{r}:——

The acct: made up ye: 11th: of September and then sent to his hono^{r}: ye governo^{r}: amounts besydes y^{e} 800 gilders of Peter Rambo to y^{e} sume of — ℔ 2521 : = :gild^{r}:

more due to neeles Laersen for ye Co^{rts}: accomodations till this day viz^{t}:

1677

13th Nov^{r}: Co^{rts}: sitting ℔ 200
12 march 167$\frac{7}{8}$ Co^{rts}: sitting 70 — ℔ 270 : =

woolves heads more then in ye former acct: was computed — ℔ 120 : =

The Sherrifes Sallary after ye Rate of 5^{s}: in ye pound — ℔ 884 : =

The h: Sherrife brings in 7 tydables in ye List set downe whoe are not Lyable to pay, wherefore the publicq is here Charged therewith and ye Sherrife must haue Credit for y^{e} same hee being Charged for ye full List of Tydables as Received — ℔ 182 : =

℔ 3977 : =

The Publicq in Contra is Credit by the Sherrife for 136 Tydables for w^{ch}: hee Charges himselfe debto^{r}: as Received, Except ye 7 beforementioned, att 26 gild^{rs}: p^{r}: head amounts to ℔ 3536: =

more by fynes of ye following p^{r}sons w^{ch}: ye Co^{rt}: doe order ye high Sherrife to Collect, & Imploy towards ye paying ye publicq Charges viz^{t}:

of Lasse dalbo	℔ 25:	
of moens Staecket	50:	
of d^{tto}: moens Staecket	100:	℔ 175: =
The publicqs Credit is		℔ 3711: =

The Justices assembled as above this day ordered the high Sherrife Capt^{n}: Edmond Cantwell to Collect & Receive of ye following p^{r}sons, the fynes Imposed on them by this Court, and to Imploy ye same towards ye payment of ye publicq Charges viz^{t}:

of Lasse Dalbo a fyne Imposed on ye 11th Septemb^{r}: 1677	℔	25: =
of moens Staecket ye 11th of Septemb^{r}: a fyne of		50:
of ditto moens Staecket ye 13th of novemb^{r}: 1677		100
	℔	175: =

The Justices this day ordered ye high Sherrife Capt^{n}: Edm: Cantwell to pay out of ye publicq money as followeth viz^{t}: to —

To neeles Laersen hee is to pay	℔	639
To Lasse Cock hee is to pay	"	362
To severall p[r]sons for woolves heads	"	540
To ye Clerk Eph: Herman	"	200
Carried over to ye next padge	℔	1741 : =
Brought ouer	℔	1741 : =
The Sherrife to pay viz[t]:		
To Justice Israell helm		400 : =
To Justice otto Ernest Cock		300 : =
To Edm: Cantwell by him heretofore paid by neeles Laersen on ye Co[rts] acct.		200 : =
The Sherrife allowed for Collecting & Receiving ye publicq Levy etc		884 : =
The Sherrife to pay in all	℔	3525 : =

Capt[n]: Edm: Cantwell h: Sherrife his acc[t]: w[th]: ye publicq this Jear 1678.

Debto[r]:		Credito[r]:		
To 136 Tydables by him Received according to ye List at 26 gild[rs] per head	℔ 3536 :	By sundry p[r]sons hee is to pay according to ye above-standing order to ye sume of	℔	3525 :
To fynes by him to Receive	175 :	By 7 tydables by him not Received being not due		182 :
	℔ 3711 :		℔	3707 : =

The abovestanding acct: was soe made up betweene The Justices & high Sherrife att their meeting abovesd:

Four pages, 71, 72, 73 and 74, of the original Record, are here wanting.

ADAM MOTT by John Shackerly his attorney } Plt

JAN CLAASSEN PAERDE COOPER Deft.

The Plt: demands of this defendt: by bill bearing date ye 14 of May 1676 ye full & Just sume of therteen hundered ℔ of tobbacco & Caske;

The deft: ownes the bill, but says that hee has paid one hhd: of tobbacco towards itt unto Lasse Cock ye former attorney of adam mott;

The debates of both partees being heard ye Court ordered Judgement to bee Entered agst: the deft: for 1300 ℔ tobb: according to bill wth: the Costs;

JOHN SHACKERLY Plt } In an action of debt by
JAN CLAASSEN Deft } acct. the sume of ℔ 325 : 15

The deft: ownes the acct: but sayes that hee hath paid severall sumes towards ye same; This action wth: ye Consent of both partees was Continued till next Court day.

JOHN ADDAMS in the behalfe of his mastr: William Dervall } Plt

XTOPHER BARNES Deft:

The Plt desires that this worppll: Court would bee pleased to grant him Judgemt: against the deftes Plantation & Crop of Corne & Tobbacco for a debt due to this Plt: to ye sume of 1494 gildrs: 6 styvers, according to a deed & mortgage

bearing date ye 29 of June 1677, and that appraizars might bee appointed accordingly to appraize the same;

The deft aknowledges ye mortgage

The Cort ordered Judgemt to bee Entered according to deed & mortgage and doe appoint for appraizers James Sanderlin, albert hendriks & oele franssen, to appraize the plantation Crop of Wheat & Tobbacco;

The deft. in Court Ingaged to make a good Tytle of ye Land & plantation to ye Plt if not fully paid otherwayes;

John Moll attorney for Tho: heynson of maryld } Plt
Xtopher Barnes Deft

The plt demands of ye deft by his bil bearing date ye 7th of Septembr 1675 twoo good fatt oxen fitting to kill as by the sd bill more att Large doth appeare

The deft Xtopher Barnes Confessing the bill, The Court ordered Judgemt to bee Entered agst ye deft: according to sd bill wth ye Costs;

Ephraim Herman Plt
Ep Laurentius Carolus Deft

The Plt demands of ye deft for Clercqs fees Earned att New Castle Court ye sume of one hundered fourthy twoo gilders,

The deft. promisses to pay the Plt betweene this & october next Ensuing wherewith the Plt is Contented;

John Test By Edm: Cantwell his attorney Plaintife } Plt
Neeles Laersen Defendt

The Plt demands of ye deft one pound & 11 shillings

being ye Costs of Court of an action commenced against the def^{t} ye 13 of novemb^{r} Laest past.

The debates of both partees being heard ye Court ordered Judgem^{t} to bee Entered agst ye def^{t} for ye s^{d} one pound 11 shillings wth Costs.

Upon the Peticon of John Shackerly desiering for severall Reasons in the s^{d} Peticon Exprest that the Land of Thomas Jeacocx or henry Salter whoe unlegally possesses Thomas Jeacocx Intrest may be ordered to pay ye peticon^{r} his Just debt to ye sume of 186 gilders wth ye Costs and damadges;

The Co^{rt} answer that sence Henry Salter had notice before Tho: Jeacocx went away & that the s^{d} Jeacox did not put up his name or had a passe,[1] and that the Land and plantation of ye s^{d} Jeacox is not Legally made ouer unto henry Salter, That therefore the Land of Tho: Jeacox or henry Salter if he will Injoy itt, must pay ye peticon^{r} his Just debts;

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[1] The Law or Order on this subject "made and confirmed" in 1672, was as follows. "Whereas frequent Complaints have been made of Servants who runn away from their Masters in other Governments, for want of due Care and Examinacon of them by the Magistrates or Officers of the Townes through which they pass, It is ordered, that if hereafter any Stranger or person unknown shall come to, or travill through any Towne or place within this Government without a Pass port or Certificate from whence hee came and whither he is bound, shall bee lyable to be Seized upon by any Officer of the Towne or Place unto which hee comes, or through which he shall travill there to be Secured untill hee can Cleare himselfe to bee a free Man, and shall defray the Charges of his Detention there, by his worke or Labour (if not otherwise able to give Satisfaction) in the best way and Manner he shall bee found capable" ("Duke's Laws," Collect. N. Y. Hist. Soc., i., 421).

Peter Dalbo desiering Liberty to take twenty fyve acres of marrish, the Co^{rt} granted ye Peticon^{r} Liberty to take up on the west syde of this River 25 acres of marrish w^{ch} heretofore is not granted or Claymed by any other p^{r}sons;

Justice oele Swensen desiering Liberty of ye Co^{rt} to take up 25 acres of marrish, The Co^{rt} granted to him to take up on ye west syde of this River wthin this Jurisdiction 25 acres of marrish w^{ch} heretofore is not granted or taken up by others;

Upon the Peticon of Lasse Andries, Oele Stille, Andreas Benckson, and Joan Mattson, Inhabitants of Moymensinck, desiering a grant Each to take up twenty five acres of marrish or meddow betweene the hollanders[1] Kill & Rosemonds kill on the west syde of this River of delowar,

[1] Hollander's Kill took its name from the Dutch, who in 1646, purchased of the Indians, the land in its immediate vicinity. Lindstrom (MS. Map), calls it "Hollendare Kylen, La Riviere des Hollandois."

In a survey made by Richard Noble, June 30, 1680, for the same parties who are named in the text, of "two tracts, containing together 64 acres of Marsh Land, called Moymensic Marsh, lying on the west side of Delaware river—one between Hollander's Creek and the Hay Creek—and the other between the Hay Creek and Roseman's Creek." *Hay* Creek is represented at the distance of 93 perches south of *Hollander's* Creek, and *Roseman's* as 158 perches south of Hay Creek (Records Sec. States Office, Albany). On a MS. Map in the Department of Surveys (Phil.), entitled a "Plan of the District of Southwark and Townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, surveyed under authority of Commissioners appointed under an act of Commonwealth of Penna., of 29th Sept., 1787," Hay Creek is laid down as 3020 feet north of the tavern at Gloucester Point, and *Little Hollander's* Creek as 1900 feet to the north of Hay Creek. Roseman's Creek is not represented. This map is 5 feet 3 in., by 6 feet 2 in., and is beautifully executed on a scale of 400 feet to the inch, and apparently with much accuracy. Ellet's Map of Philadelphia County, 1839, although perhaps as accurate, varies from the Plan of 1787, and Hill's Map varies

The Co^{rt} haueing Examined into ye Peticon^{rs} Request doe grant ye same.

EDMOND CANTWELL P^{lt}
NEELES LAERSEN Def^{t} } In an action of defamation to ye p^{lts} damadge 100£

before this action was tryed Neeles Laersen asked forgivenesse in Court of Capt^{n} Cantwell of what hath past wherewith Capt^{n} Cantwell was sattisfyed;

Capt^{n} Edmond Cantwell this day in the p^{r}sence of ye Court made up his acct of the publicq wth neeles Laersen and the s^{d} neeles Laersen Remained debtor to Capt^{n} Cantwell nineteen Gilders & Six Styvers.

Albert Hendriksen & Jan Jansen being heretofore appointed appraizers to appraize ye Cowe of Will: Orian upon ye Execution of Johannes De haes, this day made Returne that they vallued ye s^{d} Cowe att one hundered & seventy gilders;

EDMOND CANTWELL P^{lt}
NEELES LAERSEN Def^{t}

The P^{lt} Complaynes against the def^{t} for that hee ye def^{t} Contrary to Lawe & practize wthout any order from this P^{lt} did goe into the Jurisdiction of New Castle Co^{rt} and there did demand and Receive of severall people for Levy

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from both, showing the great changes in the topography of the region, and in the course and size of the streams, made by the erection of dams and the banking of meadows, in the lapse of half a century. There are, perhaps, sufficient data to justify the belief that "Little Hollander's Creek" as laid down in the MS. "Plan," is the same stream as that called Hollander's Creek in Noble's Survey, and that Roseman's or Rosemond's Kill, although no inconsiderable stream in 1680, no longer existed in 1787.

or head monny in all 130 gilders, The pl^{t} therefore in his quality of high Sherrife desires to order ye def^{t} to Repay ye s^{d} 130 gilders wth ye Costs & that for his Contempt hee may bee fyned to ye discretion of ye Court—

The defend^{t} neeles Laersen ownes y^{e} Receipt, but sayes that itt was throug mistake; The Co^{rt} haueing heard ye debates of both partees did order ye Def^{t} to Repay ye s^{d} 130 gild^{s} wth y^{e} Costs;

Benjamin Goodman servant to oele Swensen desiering to bee freed from his mastr. alledging that his tyme is out Ordered that Oele Swensen bring att the next Court ye Indenture or his witnesses that can Testify about ye buisnesse;[1]

Jan Cornelissen of Amesland Complayning to ye Court that his son Erik is bereft of his naturall Sences & is turned quyt madd and y^{t} hee being a poore man is not able to maintaine him;

ordered: that three or 4 p^{r}sons bee hired to build a Little Blockhouse at amesland for to put in the s^{d} madman, and att the next Court, order will bee taken y^{t} a small Levy bee Laid for to pay for the building of y^{e} house and the

[1] The Law on the subject of "Bond slavery," was in the following words. "No Christian shall be kept in Bondslavery villenage or Captivity, Except Such who shall be Judged thereunto by Authority, or such as willingly have sould, or shall sell themselves, In which Case a Record of such Servitude shall be entered in the Court of Sessions held for that Jurisdiction where such Matters (Masters) shall Inhabit, provided that nothing in the Law Contained shall be to the prejudice of Master or Dame who have or shall by any Indenture or Covenant take Apprentices for Terme of years or other Servants for Term of yeares or Life" (Duke's Lawes, Col. N. Y. Hist. Soc., i., 322).

maintayning of y^e^ s^d^ mad man according to Lawes of y^e^ government:[1]

Carell Junsen of marreties hoeck in delowar River this day apeared in Court and there did aknowledge a deed and absolute Conveigance for a Certayne parcell & sheare of ye Intrest of y^e^ Land formerly belonging unto hans hofman, unto morgan druit Late of London marriner, the s^d^: Land being scituate & Lying att marreties hoeck afores^d^:, Contayning one hundered and fifty Jards In breath and In Length Equall w^th^: ye other Lands, The afores^d^: parcell so made ouer Lyeth next unto y^e^ Land of Jan hendriksen, hee the s^d^: Charles Junsen did alsoe aknowledge to haue Received full sattisfaction of y^e^ s^d^ morgen Druit, The afores^d^: deed bears date ye 18^th^ day of June 1678; was signed, sealed & delivered by ye sd: Charles Junsen in the p^r^sence of Christopher Billop & Eph: Herman;

Jan Hendriksen of Delowar River husbandman, apeared in Court, and then and there did aknowledge a Certayne deed or Transport, unto Rodger Peddrik of all his the said Jan hendriksens Right Tytle and Intrest of all the Land & appurtenances Lying & being on the westsyde of delowar River Called & knowne by the name of marreties hoeck, The whole tract of marreties hoeck Land being granted and Confirmed by Pattent from the Right hono^ble^: governo^r^ andros bearing date the 28^th^ of march 1676 unto the six possessors thereof viz^t^: Charles Jansen Oele Raessen hans

[1] There was a provision in the "Duke's Lawes" as to "the Conditions of distracted Persons," which directed the mode in which the "charge" for their support was to be levied (Col. N. Y. Hist. Soc., i., 408).

oelsen oele neelsen hans hofman and him the s^{d}: Jan hendrick, and Contayning In the whole one thousand acres of Land; w^{ch} s^{d} deed was signed, sealed and delivered by the s^{d} Jan hendriks in the p^{r}sence of Johannes De haes and Carell Junsen and beares date ye 18th: day of June a^{o}: 1678

Thomas Nossitur desiering of the Court a grant to take up Twoo hundered acres of Land, The Court granted y^{e} same hee seating and Improoveing s^{d} Land according to his hono^{r}: ye governo^{rs} Regulacons,

William Warner desiering of the Court a grant to take up one hundered acres of Land, The Court granted y^{e} same hee seating & Improoveing y^{e} same according to the Regulacons of his hono^{r} the governo^{r};

JAMES SANDERLING P^{lt}
FRANCIS STEEVENS Def^{t} } withdrawne by the P^{lt}:

FRANCIS STEEVENS P^{lt}
JAMES SANDERLING Def^{t} } with^{d} by y^{e} pl^{t}:

ANTHONY WOODHOUSE P^{lt}
HENRY BOAMAN Def^{t}: } agreed

Andries Homman was this day appointed and sworne Constable in the Roome of Will: orian the Laete Constable,

The Court this day Resolved to Impose a Levy or small Tacx of fyve gilders p^{r}: head on every Tydable p^{r}son for the defraying of the Courts sitting Charges, as heretofore the s^{d}: Levy to bee paid by Every p^{r}son upon Trimeconck Island betweene this & the 6th of october next Ensuing;

The Co^{rt}: adjorned till the 2^{d} Teusday of Septemb^{r}: next;

Att a Court held att Upland in Delowar River By his May^tis^ authority November ye 12^th^ 1678.

p^r^sent

M^R^ Peter Cock
M^R^ Peter Rambo
M^R^ Otto Ernest Coch
M^R^ Lasse andries
M^R^ Oele Swensen
} Justices

The following order from his hono^r^ the governo^r^ conserning Lands and the quit Rents thereof was this day proclaymed in open Court etc;

Copie

By the Governo^R^

Whereas I: did in the Jeare 1675 among other Regulacons then made for Incouradgment, Remitt the quit Rents for the first three Jears of all new Lands to bee taken up & seated in delowar p^r^cincts w^ch^ haueing prooved inconvenient by many takeing up Land and not seating at all, I: doe therefore Repeall and Recall ye same, Except for such as haue seated and Improoved upon said order to bee accordingly Indemnifyed,—But all such as haue taken up Land and not seated and Improoved and made due Returnes thereof as by Law and orders sent and publisht Laest Jeare to bee Recorded, To forfeit the same, and the Land not seated and Improoved to be disposed of as vacant Lands, and all such as haue Improoved and seated, but not made such Returnes, are hereby againe Required for Rectifying of former and preventing of future disorders, w^th^in ye space of six months next Ensuing the date hereof to make a due Returne as above of such their Land quantity

& scituation according to the Pattents Surveigs or Cards thereof to the Clarke of the Court in whoese Jurisdiction the said Land Lyeth, to bee there Recorded, and by the Courts Certifyed to the secretarys office here, and such as haue not taken Care to pay their quit Rents due for the same, that they Come wthin the space of six months as above and accompt & pay the arrear to the now Receiver from my first comming into the Country, in 1674, and for the future all such as haue or shall take up Land are to pay their quit Rents from their takeing up such Land & yearly att the townes of upland New Castle and whoorekills for the seuerall precincts att their perrills, and such as shall take up Land and not Improove to forfeit according to Lawe, this order to bee forthwith publisht and set up att ye Courthouses of upland New Castle and whoorekills In Delowar Given under my hand in New Yorke this 25th of october 1678.

(Signed) E. Andross.

Upon the Peticon of Dunk williams desiering of this Court a grant to take up 100 acres of Land on the Lower syde of Nieshambenies Creeke, 50 acres thereof at the River syde & the other 50 acres up in the woods,

The Co^{rt} doe grant the Peticon^{r} Liberty to take up 100 acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing the same according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} Regulacons & orders;

Upon the Peticon of Edmund draufton, The Co^{rt} granted the Peticon^{r} for himselfe & son Liberty to take up 100 acres

of Land hee seating & Improoveing the same according to his hono^{r} y^{e} governo^{rs} orders & Regulacons;

WILLIAM ORIAN P^{lt}.
JOH: D'HAES Def^{t}.

The names of the Jury
hans moens
dunk williams
Xtopher Barnes
Edm: draufton
Peter Jockum
Isacq Sauoy
Jan hendriks
Jonas kien
moens Cock
John Browne
Jan Boelsen
henry hastings

The P^{lt}. demands of this def^{t}. by acct: the sume of 167 gilders for w^{ch}. hee Craues Judgem^{t}. wth. Costs; The deft. produces his acct: w^{ch}. was by him produced in his action y^{e} Laest march Court agst. this P^{lt}. whereby hee prooves that for part of the acct: w^{ch}. now this P^{lt}. doth bring in is alreddy then given Credit for and denys the Remainder of the P^{lts}. acct: The P^{lt}. Craueing a Jury, the Jury was Impanneled who brought in their verdict that they allowed y^{e} P^{lts}. acct: to ye sume of 159 gilders;

The Court thought fitt to suspend the verdict of ye Jury and the determinacon of this Case till next Court day, att w^{ch}. tyme both P^{lt}. and deft: are to bring their bookes In Court.

JOHN SHACKERLY Plt
JAN CLAASSEN Deft } both partees default

This action is by the Cort Continued till next Court day.

OELE NEELSEN Plt
NEELES LAERSEN Deft

The partees before Judgemt past did declare to agree & withd: their action

OELE DIRKSEN Plt
EVERT ALDRETS & Elizabeth his wyfe the late widdow of hans walter deceased } Deft

The Plt declares that this deftS predecessor hans walter deceased stands Justly indebted him by ballance the sume of seventy & one gilder for Land sould him Lying att Lamoco, for wch hee has attached so mutch of ye monys due unto the said deceased in the hands of hans oelsen, and humbly Craues Judgemt wth Costs;

The Court being sattisfyed as to the Justnesse of the debt did order Judgemt accordingly & doe allow of the attachmt wth Costs;

Upon the Peticon of anthony nealson desiering of this Court a grant for to take up 100 (one hundered) acres of Land betweene ye heads of Cromkill & oele Stillens[1] kill as alsoe a small parcell of marrish adjoyning thereunto; The Court doe grant the Peticonr his sd Request hee seating &

[1] *Oele Stillen's Kill.* The present Ridley Creek, called, on Holmes Map, Preest's Creek, probably after the owner of a large tract of land at its mouth. The land between Ridley and Crum Creeks, is designated by Lindstrom as "*Stillen's Land le pays de Stillen's.*" Lindstrom's MS. Map.

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Improoveing ye same Land according to his honor the governors Regulacons & orders.

Christopher Barnes appeared In Court and then & there did aknowledge the hereafter Recorded deed unto John moll etc;

Copia.

Know all men by these prsents yt I: Christopher Barnes of delowar River, haue assigned and made ouer unto mr John moll of ye Towne of New Castle for the use & Proper acct: of mr Thom: hinson of Talbott County in maryland, all whatsoever shall bee due unto mee ouer and above the debt wch I: doe owe unto Captn Tho: Delauall of New Yorke, merchant, wherefor an order of Court is obtayned against mee by John addams his Employer that is to say my plantation where I: now Live upon, all my Corne Tobbacco Cattle, as twoo Cowes ye one haueing had foure and ye other one Calfe as alsoe one oxe of three years old & one Joung Calfe, and yt for ye paymt of one thousand pounds of good merchandable Tobbacco & Cascque, as alsoe the Incidentall Charges allowed by ye Lawe, wch has & shall acruwe about twoo fatt oxen wich I: am indebted unto mr Thomas hinson aforesaid, wherefore an order of Court was also past agst mee, In Testimony whereof I: haue hereunto sett my hand & seale att upland this 12th day of novembr ao 1678.

witnesses prsent
James Sanderlins (Signe) The ⌣ marke of
henry hastings Christ: Barnes L. S.

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RODGER PEDDRIK Plt
agst
HANS OELSEN Deft } In an action of assault & battery

The Plt Complaynes that this Deft wthout Just Cause has assaulted him and wth ye handle of his ax sorely beaten him the Plt in ye open street & desires That the Court will make some order to prvent & Inflict sume punishmt upon him the Deft

There being noe Testimonys and the deft utterly denying the fact; alsoe the Plt Refusing to sweare it The Court could not proceed to any Judgement, but doe order & Recomend strictly, to both partees to Live quietly and for the future not molest one ye other in words or deeds; upon Penalty of seuere punishmt if hereafter itt appears contrary;

WALTER WHARTON Plt
agst
ANDRIES ANDRIESSN HOMAN Deft } In an action of debt by acct: ye sume of 50 gilders in wheat

The deft: not disprooveing and the Plt by his oath in Court prooveing his acct:, The Court doe order yt Judgemt bee Entered agst the deft for 50 gilders in wheat with Costs.

FRANCIS STEEVENS Plt
OELE COECKOEO Deft } The Plt absent a nonsuit was ordered agst him wth Costs

JACOBUS FABRITIUS Plt
HENRY SALTER Deft } parteess agreed as ye undersherrife Reports.

JUSTA ANDRIES Plt
NEELES LAERSEN Deft } partees agreed

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JAMES SANDERLINS P^{lt}
ags^{t}
JOHN EDMUNDS of
maryland Def^{t}

The P^{lt} demands by bill from this deft. ye sume of 1200 ℔ of good & merchandable Tobbacco & Caske to bee paid in Great Chaptank River in maryland on all demands after ye 10th of october 1675; as by the said bill under ye hand & seale of the def^{t} bearing date ye 9th of June 1675; & produced in Court did more att Large appeare, the P^{lt} further declaring & prooveing in Court that hee hath made seuerall Legall demands of the s^{d} debt, and y^{t} the same was not paid to this day, desiering that this Co^{rt} would bee pleased to grant him Judgem^{t} agst ye def^{t} and to allow of his attachment Laid upon a Certaine great Boate or shiallop & appurtenances now att upland—That the same might bee publicqly sould and the P^{lt} payed his Just due wth ye Costs;

m^{r} walter wharton one of the witnesses to ye s^{d} bill being sworne in Court declared that hee was p^{r}sent and did see John Edmundsen signe seale and deliver, the abovesaid bill of 1200 ℔ of Tobbacco, to James Sanderlins;

The Court haueing Examined into ye buisnesse, and finding the Case to bee Just, did order that Judgem^{t} bee Entered against the deft: John Edmunds, for the paym^{t} of ye sd. 1200 ℔ of Tobbacco, or the True vallue thereof, and alloweing of ye P^{lts} attachm^{t} doe hereby order the vendu master, to sell the boate & appurtenances, this Courtday to the most bidders, out of wich hee to pay James Sanderlins

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his debt wth ye Costs, and the overplus to bee Returned to John Edmunds or his order;

According to the above^{sd} order of Co^{rt} was this day being ye 12th of novemb^{r} by publicq outcry sould unto m^{r} John Test, as ye higest bidder the boate & appurtenances for ye sume of six hundered and twenty fyve gilders; to bee paid in New Castle wth merchandable Tobbacco & Caske dutch wth & tarr att 8 styvers p^{r} ℔ or wth merchandable wheat at 5 gilders p^{r} schipple att or before ye Laest of march next Ensuing, as by the Conditions of sale upon ye fyle more att Large doth & may appeare;

James Sanderlins bound himselfe as security for ye true payment of ye above^{sd} 625 gilders according to the conditions;

Peter Dalbo	P^{lt}	The pl^{t} default
The Inhabitants of Carkoen hoeck	Def^{ts}	

This action Referred till next Courtday.

The undersherrife michill Ysard this day made Returne to ye Court to haue attached belonging to hans Petersen for the fees and Charges of him ye said hans Petersen & anna Laers dochter wyfe of Benck Salung etc; viz^{t}:

In the hands of andries andress^{n} homman	6 trauers of wheat Rey and other graine Containing about 9 schiple more 200 gilders due to hans Petersen for his Land from andries homman.

Ittem an ox in Benk Salungs hands to bee appraized by Jan Boelsen & andries homman—

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Out of wch aboves^{d} is to bee paid vizt

To James Sanderlins for payment of the Indians that whipt etc as per James his acct: ye sume of ℔ 101:=

To ye high sherrife & marshall etc 94:

To ye Clercq etc: 84:

℔ 279:=

HANS PETERSEN Plt } neither Plt or Deft appearing
JACOB CLOCKER Deft } a nonsuit ordred

William Orian makeing Complt to the Court that hee goes in feare and danger of his Lyfe, throug the threats of Jan Jansen, and ye sd Jan Jansen makeing ye same Complaint against Will: orian; The Cort doe bind both partees to their good behauior & order Each to pay halfe Costs;

Upon the Peticon of oele Coeckoe—The Court doe grant him Liberty to take up wthin this Corts Jurisdiction 300 acres of Land, wch heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating and Improoveing said Land according to his honor the governors Regulacons & orders.

Upon the Peticon of henry Tredway — The Court doe grant him Liberty to take up wthin this Courts Jurisdiction 300 acres of Land, wch heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing said Land according to his honor the governors Regulacons & orders.

Upon the Peticon of mathias Claassen holsteyn, The

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Court doe grant him Liberty to take up wthin this Courts Limitts 100 acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing said Land according to his hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} Regulacons & orders;

Upon the Peticon of Edmund draufton, The Court doe grant him Liberty for himselfe & son to take up 100 acres of Land, w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others — he seating & Improoveing the same, according to his hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} orders & Regulacons;

Benjamin Goodman p^{r}ferring in Court a Peticon, sheweing that hee was assigned and set ouer from m^{r} Charles Ballard of ye province of maryland unto oele Swensen of this River to serve him or his assignes the Terme of three Jears, w^{ch} was expiered the 19 day of april Laest past, and y^{t} ye s^{d} oele Swensen doth still deny the Peticon^{r} his freedom, and therefore desires that his s^{d} master Either may make itt appeare that hee hath Longer to serve or bee ordered to give him his freedome, wth sattisfaction for ye overplus;

The Court haueing heard what by Lasse Cock was sayed touching the premisses, and oele Swensen producing noe Indentures alledgeing that the same were Lost, Doe therefore Judge that the Peticon^{r} ought to be free.

Upon Request made in behalfe of Jan Schoeten, The Court doe grant him Liberty to take up a small quantity of marrish Lying att ye place called hans moensens great mill faall at ye End thereof, that is to say soe mutch as is

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fitt to mowe 4 stacks of hay; The s^{d} millfall being a Run[1] that comes in ye Schuylkills.

Ordered that the Land formerly granted to Jan Boelsen, bee Reserved for the mill and that Jan Boelsen, may haue and take up in another place 100 acres of Land, To w^{ch} s^{d} Jan Boelsen did agree in Court;

Itt being taken in Consideracon that itt was verry necessary that a mill bee built in the Schuylkill; and there being no fitter place then the faall Called Capt^{n} hans moenses faalls; The Co^{rt} are of opinion that Either Capt^{n} hans moens, ought to build a mill there (as hee sayes that hee will) or Else suffer an other to build for the Comon good of ye parts;

Upon the Peticon of william orian The Co^{rt} granted him Liberty to take up within their Limits on hundered acres of Land, w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating and Improoveing the same according to his hono^{r} the governo^{rs} orders and Regulacons.

Upon the Request of Ephraim herman The Court doe grant him Liberty to take up (as an addition to his former grant) the Remainder of ye Land that Lyeth between Pemibaccan & Poetquessink Creekes;

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[1] "Hans Moensen's *Great Mill Fall*," or "Run," was the present "Mill Creek" which empties into the Schuylkill immediately south of Woodlands Cemetery. In the resurvey made for Moensen, his tract is called "*Oronemink*," in other documents Arronemink, and the creek "the *Great Quarn Fall*," "Quarn" being Swedish for mill (Wharton's Surveys, 20th Sept., 1675, Surveyor Genl's Office, Harrisburg).

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Upon the Peticon of mathew allin the Court doe grant him Liberty to take up 200 acres of Land, hee seating and Improoveing the same according to his hono^{r} the gouerno^{rs} Regulacons and orders;

Upon the Request of Thomas nossitur The Court doe grant him Liberty for himselfe & associates, to take up 100 acres of Land, hee settling & makeing Improovem^{ts} according to orders and Regulacons;

Lawrens Cock this day apeared in Co^{rt} and there before the Court did aknowledge the makeing ouer a plantation & appurtenances unto Elizabeth Kinsey, Lying and being att Sachamexing, The deed by him the s^{d} Lourens Cock aknowledged stands hereafter Recorded viz^{t}

(Copia) To all Xtian People To whome this present wryting shall come Lawrence Cock of Sachamexing in Delowar Riuer husbandman sendeth Greeting Know yee that I the said Lawrens Cock for and in Consideracon of certaine sume of mony to me In hand Insuerd before the Ensigning and deliuery hereof by Elizabeth Kinsey[1] the Daughter and heier of John Kinsey Late of Herfordsheir In the Kindome of England Deceased as alsoe for Diuers good Causes and Concidirations me the said Lawrence there unto moueing Haue Giuen Granted Bargned Sould Assigned alliened Transported made ouer and Confirmed And by these presents Doe fully Clearly and

[1] Elizabeth Kinsey, who in September, 1691, appears to have been the wife of Thomas Fairman. Records, Land Office, Harrisburg.

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absalutely Giue grant Bargaine sell assigne Enfoofe alien Transport make ouer and Confirme unto ye above named Elizabeth Kinsey hur haiers and assignes all my Right Tytle intrest Clayme and Porperty to a Certaine Plantatation farme or parsell of Land Contening three hundread Acers Lying and being on the west syde of Delowar Riuer att the toune or neighborhood Called and Knowne by the name of Sachamexing the hole diuident and quantity of Land being of Late surveyed for the Inhabatants of Sachamaxeing in Genarall Contaynes 1800 Acres by w^{ch} Resuruey the sheare and Intrest of him the said Lawrence Cock as being on of the said inhabatants of Sachamaxeing amounts to three hundred Acres as aboue mentoned Togeather wth the sheare and Intrest of him the said Lawrence of and to the marshes or meaddows belonging unto the aboues^{d} Land as alsoe all and singular the houses dwelling houses Barnes stables stalls fences and all other the appurtanances now standing upon the s^{d} Land or in anny wise thereunto appertaning, To haue and to hold the aboue said Land plantation marshes houses and premeses with all and singular the appurtanances Libertys proffits and priuiledges as also all ye Right title and intrest of him the s^{d} Lawrence Cock therein, unto the s^{d} Elizabeth Kinsey hur haiers and assignes unto the soale and proper use and behoofe of hur the s^{d} Elizabeth Kensey hur haiers and assignes for Euer. And he the said Lawrence Cock his haiers Executors and administrators doth hereby Couenant to and wth the s^{d} Elizabeth Kinsey hur haiers Executrs administrators and assignes that hee the said Lawrence

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Cock att the tyme of the Insealing and deliuery hereof is Lawfully seized of the abouesaid Land houseing and premeses and hath in his owne Right full power and Lawfull athority to sell and dispose thereof, and that she the said Elizabeth Kinsey hur haiers and assignes shall and may from hensforth for Euermore freely and quitely haue hould occupy posses and inioy all and singular the aboues^{d} Land housing and premeses wth out anny manner of Lett hindrance Interuption or molestation of him the said Lawrance Cock or anny other person or persons whatso Euer Clayming by from or under him the s^{d} Lawrance Cock hereby Clearing warrinting the said Land and premeses of and against anny manner of former bargins sailes or other incumbrances whatso Euer Excepting the annuall Quit Rents, In witnes whereof the said Lawrens Cock together with martha his wyfe (whoe likewise thereunto consents) haue hereunto sett there hands and seales In Delowar Riuer this 30th day of march in the 30th Jeare of his may^{is} Raigne annq Domini: 1678

Signed sealed & deliuered in ye p^{r}sence of us (signed)
Edm: Cantwell
Eph: Herman
John Ashton

Lawrens L Cock L S.
his marke
The marke of martha Cock ——— L S.

The Court this day ordered that Every p^{r}son should wthin the space of twoo months, as far as his Land Reaches, make good and passable wayes, from neigbour to neigbour wth bridges where itt needs, To the End that neigbours

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on occasion may come together, Those neglecting to forfeit 25 gilders;

Peter Putco This day appeared In Court, and there did aknowledge to haue assigned Transported and made ouer unto harmen Jansen his heirs and assignes, all his the s^{d}: Peter Putcos Right Tytle & Intrest to a Pattent (& ye Land therein contained) from the Right hono^{rble}: governo^{r}: Edm. Andros, granted unto hendrik Colman & him ye s^{d} Peter Putco, bearing date 25th of march 1676; The s^{d} Land Lying on ye north syde of the mill Creeke over against Carkoenhoeck; being bounded and Contaynes according to ye s^{d} Pattent one hundered acres as by ye Records of Pattents for upland Court, wherein ye s^{d} Pattent and the Transport att Large is Recorded more att Large doth & may apeare.

The Limits and Division betweene this and New Castle County were this day agreed upon and settled By this Court and m^{r} John Moll president of New Castle Court, To bee as followeth, viz^{t}:

This County of upland to begin from ye north syde of oele fransens Creeke, otherways Called Steenkill Lying in the boght above ye verdrietige hoeck, and from the said Creek ouer to ye singeltree point on the Eastsyde of this River;[1]

Memorandum Neeles Laersen must have p^{r}: ballance from this Court ye sume of 263 gilders & noe more.

[1] See note A. at end of Record.

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The Court this day made the following order etc:

By the Co.rt of Upland.

WHEREAS for ye defraying of ye Charges of this Courts sitting as alsoe for ye sattisfying of ye former debt due from this Court to Neeles Laersen itt was ordered ye Laest Court held att Upland y.e 18th & 19 of June, That a small tax or Levy of 5 gilders should bee Imposed on Every Tydable p.rson w.th in this Co.rts Jurisdiction, w.ch order haueing sence Layne dorment and the Court finding themselues necessitated for the sattisfying of ye sd neeles Laersen as also for to defray their Charges of meat and Lodgeing att their sitting, Doe therefor the novo order that Every Tydable within ye Jurisdiction of this Court, who haue payed their Levy Laest Yeare doe w.th in the space of 14 dayes now next Ensuing com and pay Each of them 5 gilders as formerly, and that they bring ye same unto Tinnecong[1] Ysland in ye hands of m.r otto Ernest Cock; This order to bee published & fixed up att ye Churches of wicaco & Tinnecong to ye End noe p.rson may plead Ignorance;

Complaint being made to ye Court by James Sanderling In behalfe of ye Rest of ye Inhabitants of upland That Neeles Laersen w.th a fence stopps up the old and usuall way to the fly;[2] and Neeles Laersen being thereupon heard, The Court ordered that s.d Neeles Laersen take up ye s.d fence and Leaue the way open as formerly;

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[1] Tinnicum Island.

[2] Swedish for a marsh or meadow.

Nov^{r} 12th 1678.

Complaint being made by the Church wardens that Neeles Laersen has taken in (wth the Lotts of Land by him bought of dom: Lasse Carolus here in Upland Towne) some of the Church or glebb Land;[1] — ordered that Neeles Laersen shall haue his due of the 2 Lotts by him bought of s^{d} dom: Carolus Equall wth the other Lotts in upland, but for what shall bee found that s^{d} Neeles Laersen has taken in more, hee to Leaue the same out againe annexed to ye other Church Lotts;

The Co^{rt} adjorned till 2^{d} Teusday in ye month of march next.

ffollow on the other syde seuerall Returnes made by m^{r} walter wharton the suerveigo^{r} to the Court, w^{ch} are ordered to bee sent to the office In New Yorke;

The hereafter menconed Returnes were by the Surveigo^{r} walter wharton made to ye Court viz^{t}

Copie

By virtue of a warrant from the Court at upland in Sept 1677

Layd out for Michell Izard a parcell of Land called Smallgaine scituate and being on the west side of Delowar Riuer and one the North East side of Stilles Creek begining at a Cornor marked Poplar standing att the Creeke side being a bounded tree of the Land of Anthony nielson (alias) Long and from the said Popler Running n: E: by n: by a Line of marked trees diuiding this from the Land of sayd Anthony twoo hundred perches to a Corner marked

[1] See note B at end of Record.

Novr 12th 1678.

Chestnut tree standing att ye southwest side of Crum Kill from thens west by a Line of marked trees one hundred forty and fouer perches to a Corner marked white oake from thens S: W: by S: by a Line of marked trees one hundred sixty and fouer perches to a Corner marked white oake standing att Stieles Creek and from thense following the seuerall Courses thereof to the first mentoned bounded Popler Containing one hundred Acors of Land surueyed by me

(Signed) WALTER WHARTON Surveigr

Copie

By uirtue of a warrant from the Court at upland in Sept: 1677

Layd out for Anthony nielson Alias Long: A parcell of Land Called Long scituate and being on the west syde of Delowar Riuer: aboute a myle from the Riuer side betweene Crum Kill and Stilles Kill begining at a Cornor marked Read oake of the Land of niles matson standing at the S: W: side of the Crum Kill and from thense Running up the said Kill bounding therewith n: w: sixty and two perches n: E: 13 degres one hundred and Eighty Perches & n: w: by w: sixtene Perches to a Cornor marked Chestnutt tree standing At the side of sayd Crèeke from thense s: w: by s: By a Lyne of marked trees two hundred Perches to a Cornor marked Poplar standing at Stilles Creke from thense downe Stilles Creek bounding therewith South by East forty Perches and South East one hundred and seauen perches to a Cornor marked Read oake of the Land of Dom Laurencies Carolus at the side of Stilles

Nov^{r} 12 1678.

Creek and from thence north East by a Line of marked trees seuenty and fower Perches to the first mentoned Cornor oake Contening one hundred Acrers of Land

Suruied by me

(Signed) WALTER WARTON Surv^{r}

Copie

By virtue of a warrant from the Court at upland

Layd out for James Sanderlands and Lawrence Cock a Tract of Land Called Poat-Quessink, scituate and being on the west of Delowar Riuer begining at a Cornor marked white oake standing att the north East side of the mouth of Poat Quesink[1] Creek and from thence Runing by the Riuer side bounded therewith north East ninety perches and East by north Two hundred forty and six perches to a Cornor marked Pine standing att the Riuer side from thens north weast by a Line of marked trees three hundred perches to a Cornor marked spannish oake standing att the side of the maine Runn of the said Creeke and from thence followeing the seuerall Courses of the said Creek to the first mentoned Cornor white oake Contening fouer hundred and seuentene Acres of Land surueyed the 8th day of actober 1678.

By me (signed) WALT. WHARTON Surv^{r}

Copie

By uirtue of a warrant from the Court at upland

Layd out for Pieter Rambo Junior a Tract of Land

[1] Poquessiuk.

Novr 12th 1678.

Called Rams Doep scituate and being on the west side of Delowar Riuer and on the north East side of Pemippackes[1] Creek begining at a Cornor marked white oak standing on a point of firme Land next unto the mouth of the said Creek from thence Running (by the Riuer) north East fifty perches to a cornor markeed Read oak standing by the Riuer side from thens north west by north by a Lyne of markeed trees three hundred and tenn perches to a cornor marked white oak from thens by a Line of marked trees, south west by west Eighty perches to a cornor marked Read oak standing att the side of the said Creek and from thens downe the seuerall Corses of said Creek to the first mentoned white oake Contening three hundered Acres of Land Suvyed ye 12th day of october 1678

By mee (Signed) WALT: WHARTON
Surv[r].

Copie By virtue of a warrant from the Court att upland nouenber 1677

Layd out for Jacob Hendrickson a parcell of Land Called Jacobs Lott scituate and being on the west side of Delowar Riuer and on the north East side of the Crum Kill begining att a cornor marked white oak standing att the side of the said creek or kill being a cornor tree of the Land of the orphants of Hendrik Johnson from thense Running n: E: by E: by their Line of marked trees two hundred and fourtene perches to a cornor marked white oak standing in ye said Line from thens n: w: by n: by a Lyne of

[1] Pennepack.

Novr 12th 1678.

marked trees one hundred perches to annother marked white oak standing on a Leauell from thence south west by w: by a Lyne of markeed trees one hundred and fifty and two perches to another cornor marked white oake standing att the side of the said Crumkill and from thens following the said creek or kill to the first mentoned white oak contening one hundred acres of Land surueyed

By me (signed) WALT: WHARTON Surv.

Copie

By uirtue of a warrant from the Court at upland

Layd out for Henry Hastings a parcell of Land Called Hastings hop[1] scituate and being on the west side of Delowar Riuer a myle abouee Poat quesink Creek: Begining at a cornor marked Pine standing by the Riuer side being a corner bounding tree of the Land of Jeames Sanderlands and Lawrence Cock: and from thens Running East by the Riuer side one hundred and Eighty perches to a cornor marked Read oak standing at the uper side of the mouth of a small branch from thence north northwest three hundred and forty and one perches then west south west one hundred perches to a cornor marked spannish oake of sayd James and Lawrence and standing att the side of ye maine Runn of Poattquessink Creek and from thence S S E: by their Line of marked trees three hundred Perches to the first mentoned cornor marked Pine at the Riuer side Contening two hundred acres of Land: surueyed ye 10th of october 1678.

By me (signed) WALT: WHARTON Surv.

[1] Hope.

Novr 12th 1678.

Copie By vertue of a warrant from the Court att upland

Layd out for John Test a tract of Land Called the hoop-well of Kent scituate and being on the west side of Delo-war Riuer and on the south west side of upland Creek Begining att a Cornor marked black oak of the Land of albert Hendricks Called Lemoky standing att the side of the sayd Creek by the mouth of a small Runn from thence Running south south west up the said Runn one hundred and thirty and six perches to the head thereof and from the head of the said Runn south west one hundred and fifty and fiue perches, by a Line of marked trees to a cornor marked black oak of the Land of markers hookill[1] from thence west south west by a Line of marked trees Eighty perches to a cornor marked white oak from thence north north west two hundred & sixty and six perches to a cornor marked black oak from thence East north East by a Lyne of marked trees twoo hundred ninety and six perches to a cornor marked Poplar standing att the side of a small Runn: from thence East South East downe the said Runn twenty and two perches to the maine Creek and from thence downe along the said Creek to thee first mentoned black oak Contening four hundred Acres of Land surueyed the 27th day of Sept 1678

By mee (signed) Walt: Wharton Surv.

Novr ye 12th 1678;

Then was sould by order of the worppll Court, att upland, by Publicq outcry, unto John Test a Certayne great

[1] Now Chichester Creek.

march ye 12th: 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

Boate or siallop Lying att upland & attached by James Sanderlins: The s^{d} boate belonging unto John Edmunds of Chaptank in maryland, was publicqly sould to him ye s^{d} John Test as ye most bidder, for the sume of six hundered & twenty fyve gilders, to bee paid in New Castle att or before y^{e} Laest day of march next wth: Tobb. or wheat att prys Courrant The purchazer was to pay halfe Charges of the vendu master & Cryer etc;

Att a Court held att upland in Delow^{r}: River by his may^{tes}: authority, The 12th: & 13th dayes of march 167$\frac{8}{9}$

p^{r}sent — M^{r} Peter Cock, M^{r} Israell helm, M^{r} Otto Ernest Coch, M^{r} Lasse andries — Justices

Capt^{n}: Edm: Cantwell High Sherrife

William Orian P^{lt}:
Johannes D'haes Def^{t}:

Johannes De haes producing in Court ye old or former booke of ye P^{lt}: william orian, and prooveing by the oath of doctor Thom: Spry (whoe had Laest yeare posted ye s^{d} old booke, for ye s^{d}: orian into a new booke) That all what was more in ye new booke, then was found in ye old, was Laest Jeare by him ye sd Spry set downe att ye request of s^{d}: orian whoe then did tell him ye same by memory, and prooveing also by the affirmacons of Tho: woollaston & others, that all or most parts of the accompts in ye s^{d}:

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new booke are gaynsayed by ye debitors, & the sd Johannes De haes haueing prooved heretofore his acct: & now producing his booke, wch: partly agreed wth: ye sd: Orians old booke; The Cort: doe therefore Judge, by the bookes, witnesses & Circumstances, that william orians acct: is not Just & that Johannes De haes has given him ye sd: orian full Credit in his former acct:, and therefore doe Judge this a vexatious suite & order a nonsuit agst: ye Plt: wth: ye Costs.

This day appeared in Court Jan Boelsen, whoe by his deed & Conveigance, declared to make ouer unto Jan Justassen all ye Land & premisses, Contayned in a Pattent granted unto him the said Jan Boelsen by Governor: francis Louelace bearing date ye first day of may 1671; wch: sd: Pattent together wth: ye abovesaid deed of Conveigance are both Recorded in ye Records of upland Courts Pattents etc

Peter Jegou Plt:
Laurentius Carolus Deft:

The Plt: demands of this deft:, by ordr: of Captn: James Bollin, ye quantity of six schipples of wheat wth: ye Costs.

Itt being prooved in Cort: that the deft: had some tymes accepted to pay this debt, and some tymes hee would not; The Cort: did passe Judgemt: agst: ye deft: for ye sd six schipples of wheat wth: ye Costs;

Evert Aldrits Plt: } In an action on ye Case
Oele Dircksen Deft: }

This action was withdrawne by the Plts: wyfe.

march 12 $167\frac{8}{9}$

WILLIAM CLARKE of Nieshambenies Creeke } Plt
ags.t
JOSEPH HANDY Deft } in an actº of ye Case
withdrawne by ye Plt.

ROBBERD WAEDE Plt
JOHN TEST Deft } in an actº. of Debt
This action was withdrawne by the Pltts order;

JOHN TEST Plt
HANS PETERSEN Deft } In an action of debt by ballance of acct. ye sume of 242 gilders.
The deft. aknowledgeing the acct. before ye Court; The Court ordered Judgemt. to bee Enterred against the deft; for ye sume of 242 gilders due by ballance of acct. to this Plt together wth. ye Costs of suite;

LASSE COCK Plt.
MICH FREDERIKS Deft } In an action of debt
This action was withdrawne.

PETER BACON Plt } In an action of the
CAPTN. XTOPHR. BILLOP Deft } Case;
The deft: Captn. Billop by his Letter to the Cort Craueing a Refference till ye next Court day; The same was granted;

Johannes De haes sheweing by Peticon to ye Court that hee has ben arrested by william orian and forced to Come up three sundry Court dayes on sd acct. wch. sd action of him ye sd orian Prooveing now a vexatious suite, & the Peticonr.

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sheweing further that throug said unjust molestation & his three severall attendances hee has Really been damnifyed & hindred wth his Expensis ye sume of one hundered & fifty gilders, for w^{ch} s^{d} sume hee humbly desiered an order agst: him ye sd orian wth ye Costs; The same was by the Co^{rt} granted;

Upon the Peticon of James Sanderlins, as ye attorney & in ye behalfe of marmaduke Randell sheweing that walter wharton deceased[1] stands Justly Indebted unto ye sd: marmaduke for hou^{s} rent of his house in upland, ye sume of Eighty gilders & desiering an order against ye Estate of the deceased wth ye Costs etc;

The Court haueing examined ye buisnesse doe grant Judgem^{t} wth Costs, according to Request

James Sanderlins sheweing by Peticon that walter wharton deceased stands Justly Indebted unto him by ballance of acct. ye sume of foure hundered & twenty Eight gild^{rs} & humbly Craueing this Co^{rt} Judgem^{t} against ye s^{d} Estate for his s^{d} sume wth ye Costs;

The s^{d} James Sanderlins haueing made oath to ye Justnesse of ye ballance of his s^{d} acct: The Co^{rt} doe grant him Judgem^{t} according to Peticon

[1] Walter Wharton was, in 1671, appointed by Gov. Lovelace "Surveyor General on the west side of the Delaware," and in 1673 was selected as one of the appraisers of the island of Tinnicum in the celebrated suit of Jeuffro Armgardt Printz, the daughter of Gov. Printz, and wife of John Pappegoya, his successor, against Carr. In the same year, after the reconquest by the Dutch, he was reappointed Surveyor General. He was a judge of the Court at New Castle in 1678, and died about the end of that year.

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EDMUND DRAUFTON Plt

DUNCK WILLIAMS Deft

The Plt demands of this Deft. 200 gilders for teaching this deft.s Childeren to Read one Yeare

The Cort haueing heard the debates of both partees as alsoe ye attestation of ye witnesses, Doe grant Judgemt agst ye deft. for 200 gilders wth ye Costs;

Richard Ducket sworne in Court declares that hee was prsent at ye makeing of ye bargaine, & did hear that ye agreemt was that Edmund draufton should Teach Dunkes Childeren to Read in ye bybell, & if hee could doe itt in a yeare or a halfe yeare or a quartr then hee was to haue 200 gilders.

WILLIAM CLARKE of Nieshambenies Creeke } Plt

JAN HENDRICKSEN Deft

The Plt haueing Enterred noe declarat upon ye deftts Request the Plt is nonsuited

PELLE DALBO Plt

The Inhabitants of Carkes hoek } Deft

noe declaration Enterred a nonsuit was ordered agst ye Plt

Thomas Woollaston Late under Sherrife att New Castle, sheweing that Laurentius Carolus stands Justly Indebted unto him for undersherrifs & marshalls fees ye sume of 55 gilders as pr acct: and humbly desiering Execution agst ye sd Laurentius for the sd fees wth ye Costs;

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The s^{d} Thomas Wollaston haueing made oath to the Justnesse of his acct: in Co^{rt}. The Co^{rt}. doe grant him Execution according to Lawe;

Upon the Peticon of Rodger Peddrik & william hews Joynt partners wth ye Rest of ye Inhabitants of marretties hoek wth. ye Land there, desiering that ye s^{d} Land may bee Layed out & Equally sheared, betweene all the partees, to ye End that Each may haue a proportionable sheare as well of ye good as of the bad Land;

The Co^{rt}. answer that the Peticon^{rs}. or those who are not sattisfyed wth. ye devision w^{ch}. of old hath ben and still is; may att their proper Costs haue ye same new surveiged & sheared.

Upon the Peticon of Thom: fayreman for 260 acres of Land below Nieshambenies Creeke etc. The Co^{rt}. answer that the Peticon^{r}. may take up so mutch Land w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others hee seating & Improoveing the same according to Lawe Regulations & orders;

Moens Staecket by his Peticon Complayning, that andries Boen Left open the fence of his Land att Calkoen hoek whereby hee the Peticon^{r}. sustaynes great damadges The s^{d}. andries Boen being called before ye Court, Did then & there promisse to make good his fence wthin 4 dayes next Ensuing.

Upon the peticon of Dunk Williams desiering a grant to take foure acres of marsh bakward of his Land att nie-

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shambenies Creeke in ye woods above ye kings path, The Court doe grant the Peticonr. Liberty to take up 4 acres of marsh, wch heretofore is not granted or taken up by others

JOHN SHACKERLY Plt
JAN CLAASSEN Deft } In an action of debt by acct: ye sume of 325 gild & 15 styvers.

The Deft. makeing oath to ye acct: by him brought in for sundry payments made by the deft. to this Plt. & his partner Reynier Williams as well sence as before ye beginning of this suite; by wch acct itt appeared that hee the deft. hath paid in all ye sume of 451 gildrs & 14 styvers, so that there was overpaid ye sume of 125 gilders 19 styvers; and Captn. Edmund Cantwell as attorney for ye Plt. desiering that the deft: (in Reguard hee was debtor att ye beginning of the suite) might bee ordered to pay the Costs; upon Examination of the buisnesse the Cort thougt itt Just that the deft. pay the Costs of Cort.

Upon the Peticon of John Snowden desiering a grant to take up 100 acres of Land;

The Cort. doe grant the Peticonr his Request hee seating & Improoveing said Land according to Lawe orders & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of hendrik Jacobs desiering a grant to take up one hundered acres of Land, The Court doe grant the Peticonr. his Request hee seating & Improoveing said Land, according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

Upon the Peticon of Andries andriessen homman, The

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Co:rt haue granted him Liberty to take up 200 acres of Land on the west syde of this River of Delowar w:th:in this Courts Jurisdiction, w:ch heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, and he seating and Improveing the same according to Lawe Regulacons & orders;

Upon the Peticon of Jacobus fabritius, The Co:rt doe grant him Liberty to take up 300 acres of Land, the same Land to bee on ye west syde of this River w:th:in this Co:rts Jurisdiction, and not granted taken up or Improoved before by others, and ye Peticon:r seating and Improoveing ye same Land according to Lawe Regulacons and orders.

Upon the Peticon of Jurian hartsvelder, The Co:rt doe grant him Liberty to take up one hundered acres of Land, w:ch heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing the same according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

Peter Rambo Senior Clayming by a Late grant of this Court, a Certayne Tract of Land att wicaco and oele Swensen, Swen Swensen & andries Swensen, pleading that the same Land was w:th:in the bounds of their Pattent, w:ch s:d difference together w:th ye allegations of both partees being this day heard, Itt is by the Co:rt this day ordered, that sence oele, Swen & andries Swensen haue ye same Land in their Pattent, w:ch is of old standing & that Peter Ramboos grant was but of Late; That therefore the said Swensens doe keepe ye Land and in case more Land bee found w:th:in ye Bound of ye sd Pattent, then is sett downe, They

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the said Swensens to have ye Prefferrence to take itt up before any others.[1]

Rodger Peddrik appearing in Co^{rt}. did then & there aknowledge by his deed produced in Co^{rt}. the Transport & makeing ouer unto William Huges his heirs and assignes for Ever, the one Just & Equall halfe part of his ye s^{d} Rodger Peddriks Land & marrishes, Lying att marretties hoek by him bought of Jan hendriksen; w^{ch}. s^{d}. deed stands Recorded in ye Records of Pattents etc for upl^{d}. Co^{rts}. Jurisdiction;

Hans Oelsen of marretties hook this day appearing In Court did verbally & by his deed declare to haue Transported & made ouer unto William Clayton his heirs and assignes all his Right & Intrest of & to his Land houses & appurtenances Lying and being att marretties hooke[2] afore-

[1] See ante page 67.

[2] *Marretties hooke*, called by Lindstrom's MS. Map, "*Furu udden*, Le Cap des Pines" (Pine Point), also by the same authority, "*Kackimensi*, *Memanchitonna*." In Besk's patent, the name *Markus Hook* is mentioned. There was an Indian Sachem of note called "*Maarte-Hoock*" (Hazard's Ann., 99), after whom Mr. Ferris supposes the place may have been called. As the designation of Marcus Hook was earlier applied to the region than Marreties Hook, which latter is supposed to have its origin from "Maarte," the name Marrettie and Marcus were doubtless distinct titles, and neither a corruption of the other. There are also cotemporary instances in which "*Marrettie*," as well as "*Marcus*," appear as the names of persons.

In 1682, Governor Markham, at the request of the inhabitants of Marcus Hook, allowed them to change the name to Chichester (Minutes of Court, p. 8, West Chester); but it is even now better known by its ancient title. The land immediately above the present Marcus Hook, was granted in 1653 by Queen Christina, to Captain John Admunsen Besk, for "trusty service down to the Crown," and was somewhat indefinitely described as being in "New Sweedland." . . . "Marcus Hook by name, which doth

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said wch sd deed stands Recorded in ye Records of Pattents of upld Courts Jurisdiction;

Juns Justassen (alias Illack) did this day in Cort verbally & by his deed aknowledge and declare to haue Transported & made ouer unto albert hendriks his heirs and assignes, all his Right tytle and Intrest, of and to a peece of Land Lying and being below upland, betweene twoo small Creekes called harwikes Creeke and middle Creeke,[1] being one third part of ye said Land, as by the abovesaid deed Recorded in ye Records of upld Courts pattents more att Large doth & may appeare;

a memordum of ye acct: of Charges of hans Petersen & anna Laers daugter hans Petersens part is ℔ 139

out of wch must bee pd

To ye Clr his Remaindr	℔	5
The Sherrife		94
for ye Cort		40
	℔	139

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reach up to and upwards to Upland Creek." . . . A translation of the Patent may be found in Ferris's settlements on the Del., 133, but Besk appears never to have been benefited by the grant (Hazard's Ann., 338). Marcus Hook Creek or Chichester Creek, forms the eastern boundary of the present Marcus Hook; and as Lindstrom (MS. Map), assigns the name of "*Finland*" to the region bounded by Marcus Hook Creek on the west, and Upland or Chester Creek on the east, we are enabled to ascertain the limits of the grant upon the east and west, and correct the misapprehension of some previous writers, who have supposed that the patent embraced the site of the present Marcus Hook.

[1] "Middle Creek, now Stony Run." Court Minutes p. 222 (West Chester).

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In Reguard severall p^{r}sons doe yet Remaine in default of paying their 5 gilders pr head for the defraying of the publicq Charges ordered ye Laest Co^{rt}, Itt is therefore againe ordered & published that all those as doe not pay the same wthin ye space of 8 dayes next Ensuing, shall forfeit & pay the sume of 25 gilders p^{r} head.

Neeles Laersen was this day ordered to make or Leaue a Lane or street from upland Creeke to ye: house of defence or country house,[1] between this and the next Court and in default thereof hee to bee fyned ye Discretion of ye Co^{rt}, neeles Laersen being sent for in Co^{rt} to make him acquainted wth ye above, and not comming, the Co^{rt} orderred the undersherrife to make him acquainted wth ye same, to the End hee might not plead Ignorance;

The Co^{rt} adjorned till ye 2^{d} Teusday in June next.

From June the Co^{rt} was adjorned untill Septemb^{r} and from Septemb^{r} till novemb^{r} following 1679.

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[1] See note C at end of Record.

Att a Co^{rt}: held in the Towne of Upland in Delowar on Teusday november ye: 25th: & the 26th 1679;

p^{r}sent — M^{r} Peter Cock, M^{r} Israell helm, M^{r} Otto Ernest Coch, M^{r} Lace andries — Justices

Peter Bacon P^{lt}

Capt^{n}: Xtophi^{r}: Billop Def^{t}:

The P^{lt} by his declaration declared as followeth viz^{t}: That Capt^{n}: Xtophi^{r} Billop att or about the first day of august 1678 did agst: ye P^{lts} will by force Presse and take away a Certaine horse of your P^{lt}: then att Passayunk which said horse was Brought att the said Billops Plantation on Staten Island where the said horse was Detayned and kept the space of fower months and as the P^{lt}: Is Informed he the said Capt^{n}: Billop did during s^{d} terme work and use your P^{lts}: said horse and the 5th December Last Past the s^{d} horse was deliuered back to your P^{lt}: by Thomas Olyne att Burlington but In a sad and a poore Condition as the P^{lt}: can make appeare.

Now the P^{lt}: haueing missed and bin In want of his said horse the space of att Least foure months during which tyme The P^{lt} hath made twoo voyadges with a boat and a man from S: Jonses to Burlington Purposely for the s^{d} horse which has occasioned great hindrances excesesive Charges truble and Expenses to your P^{lt}: whoe likewise had write to his honor ye Govorner at new yorke about Itt his

9r ye 25th 1679

sd honors answer was that the Plt had his Remeddy by Course of Lawe open agst the said Billop.

Your Plt for his Redress has Commenced this his action and humbly Craues your worpps to grant him an order agst the Deft. as followeth (vizt) first for the hier of the horse the space of fower months att 3 gilders per Diem as the Custome here is ye sume of 360 gilders as alsoe for twoo voyadges made by the Plt and a man and a boate from s Jonses to Burlington which is neer 150 myles In which sd voyades yor Plt spent six weeks tyme the sume of 420 gilders and Lastly for other Charges and Expenses which ye sd Plt and man haue binn out In the said twoo voyadges the sume of 300 gildrs which amounts to In all to the sume of 1080 gilders and ye Plt Craues also that his attachmt In the hands of Lasse Cock may bee allowed with all Cost and Charges.

The deft being three tymes Called did not appeare; and the action haueing ben continued 3 Courtdayes; In wch tyme notwithstanding hee had due notice & did promisse to appeare hee hath not appeared, and the Plt by James Sanderlins pressing for Judgemt The Court thereupon Examining the Case doe thinke fitt to pass Judgemt against ye deft: for 1080 gilders and doe allow of the attachmt by ye Plt Laid on ye defts servant Justa Justassen in ye hands of Lasse Cock; together wth all Costs.

Upon ye desire of ye undersherrife The Cort haue appointed & sworne mr John Test mr Jam: Sanderlins & mr William Orian appraizers to appraise Justa Justassen ser-

9r 25th 1679;

vant to Captn Billop, on ye Judgemt & Execution of Peter Bacom agst ye sd Billop

The abovesd appraizers returned foraward yt they Judged the tyme of his service being —— Jeare worth 650 gilders.

JAMES CRAWFORD of St Georges Creek Plt
JOHN TEST Deft

michil Izard in behalfe of ye: Plt craued a Referrence til next Courtday; the Plt not haueing Enterred any declarat: & not appearing by himselfe or attorney upon the defts request a nonsuit was ordered agst ye Plt wth Costs of suite;

JOHN TEST Plt
JAMES CRAWFORD Deft.

Upon ye desire of michil Izard in ye behalfe of ye: deft: This action is Continued till next Court day;

PETER JEGOU Plt
THOMAS WRIGHT & GODFREY HANCOCK Defts } In an action of Tresspasse upon ye Case.

The Plt declares that in ye yeare 1668 hee obtayned a permit & grant of governr Philip Cartret, to take up ye Land Called Leasy Point[1] Lying and being ouer agst. mat-

[1] This was probably the upper point of land at Burlington, formed at the junction of the Assiscunk with the Delaware, and called by Lindstrom (MS. Map), "*Assujungh*," the lower point being called by same authority "*Marachonsicka.*" It was in the house of the Plaintiff, that in 1672 George Fox lodged on his remarkable journey from "Middleton Harbour" to New Castle. He confirms the statement in the text, and says in his journal "that it had been deserted for fear of the Indians" (Ferris, 130).

g^{t} 25th 1679;

tinagcom Eyland[1] & Burlington to settle himselfe there & to build and keep a house of Entertaynment for ye: accomodation of Trauelors; all w^{ch}: ye P^{lt}: accordingly hath done, and morouer hath purchazed of Cornelis Jorissen, Jurian macelis & Jan Claessen, Each their houses and Lands at Leasy Point afores^{d}: w^{ch}: was given them by the dutch gouerno^{r}: in y^{e}: Jeare 1666 for all w^{ch}: governo^{r}: Cartret promissed yo^{r}: P^{lt}: a Pattent, all w^{ch} s^{d} houses and Lands ye P^{lt}: had in Lawfull possession until ye Jeare 1670; att w^{ch}: tyme yo^{r} P^{lt}: was plundered by the Indians, & by them utterly Ruined as is wel knowne to all y^{e} world; so that y^{e} P^{lt}: then for a tyme was forced to Leaue his Land & possession afores^{d}: and to seek his Lyvelyhood & to repaire his Losse in other places; & to Leaue his Land as afores^{d}: wth: Intention to returne when occasion should p^{r}sent. But now Soe itt is may itt please yo^{r} worpp^{s}: that wth: ye arryvall of these new commers Called quackers out of England These def^{ts}: Thomas wright & Godfrey hancok haue violently Enterred upon yo^{r} P^{lts}: s^{d} Land and there haue by force planted corne, cut timber for houses, mowed hay & made fences, notwithstanding that they were forewarned

[1] "Mattinagcom Eyland," mentioned in a subsequent page as "Tinnagcong Island," is the present Burlington Island, called by Lindstrom (MS. Map), "Tinnekoncks Eyland Ile de Tinnedonck." It was, in 1711, surveyed "to Lewis Morris as Agent to y^{e} West Jersey Society by Thomas Gardiner, Survey Genl.," and called by him "Matoneconk Isles," containing about 400 acres (Records, Sec. States Office, Albany. Hazard's Ann., 373, 391, 460. Breviat. 40, 41). According to Gordon, it was, by act of Legislature of 28th Sept., 1682, given by the Proprietors to the support of a Free School, and contained 300 acres. Gordon's Hist. and Gaz. of N. Jersey, title "Burlington."

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by yo^{r} P^{lts} frind Henry Jacobs, in yo^{r} P^{lts} behalfe, in the Presents of Capt^{n} Edmund Cantwell; and afterwards by ye P^{lt} summoned before ye magestrates of Burlington, whoe makeing no End of itt; The Case was wth s^{d} magestrates & these Def^{ts} Consent remooved here before yo^{r} worpps: wherefore the P^{lt} humbly craues yo^{r} worpps: to ord^{r} the Defts: and all others not to molest ye P^{lt} in ye quiet possession of his s^{d} Land; etc:

The def^{ts} in Co^{rt} declared to bee verry willing to stand to ye Verdict & Judgem^{t} of this Co^{rt} whereupon the Co^{rt} (haueing heard the debates of both partees and Examined all ye papers; :) are of opinion that sence m^{r} Peter Jegou had governo^{r} Cartrets grants & was in quit possession of ye Land, before Ever ye Land was sould by s^{r} John Berckley unto Edward Billing and y^{t} hee ye s^{d} Jegou hath also bought ye: Land and paid y^{e} Indians for y^{e} same; — That therefore m^{r} Peter Jegou ought peaceably & quietly to Injoy ye same Land & appurtenances, according to grant & purchaze;

William Darvall by his attorney } P^{lt}
Oele Coeckoe Def^{t}

partees agreed

James Sanderlin P^{lt}
John Pears Def^{t}

The P^{lt} demands of this def^{t} by ballance of accompts, produced in Co^{rt} ye sume of 163: gild: 15 styvers; for w^{ch} hee humbly Craues Judgem^{t}, and that his attachm^{t} Laid

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on this defts Tobb: at ye Plantation of Lasse Colman may bee allowed wth Cost; — The Deft was proved to haue ben Runaway; — The Cort haueing Examined ye Case and the Plt haueing made oath to ye Justnesse of his acct In Court; The Court doe ord Judgemt to bee Enterred agst the deft for ye sume of 163: guilr 15 styvrs & doe allow of ye attachmt provyded Lasse Colman bee first paid out of ye: Tobbacco wth Costs;

Upon ye request of Lasse Colman shewemg that John Pears is debtor to him for dyet Lodgeing house & ground for to plant on ye sume of 300 ℔ of tobb. & 12 gild: desiering sence ye sd John Pears is run away that hee ye peticonr may bee first before any others paid out of ye Cropp of tobb. by ye sd Pearce Left on his plantation; The Case being Examined ye Cort doe grant ye Peticonr his Request

Jan Claassen Paerde Cooper Plt
John Shackerly's Estate Deft } s. Court

noe administrator as yet appointed The Case is continued til next Cort

Ephraim Herman declared this day In Cort to desist of all his Right & Tytle to ye Land granted him by this Cort to take up Lying & being betweene Pemibaccan & Poet quessink Creekes to ye End that the Cort might dispose thereof to others whoome they pleased.

Upon the Request of Laers Laersen & oele Coeckoe desiering a grant of this Cort to take up all ye Land hereto-

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fore by this Cort granted unto Ephraim Herman Lying and being betweene Pemibaccan & Poetquessink Creekes, The Cort in Reguard of ye sd Ephraim Herman has desisted of his Intrest to ye same, Doe grant ye Peticonrs Liberty to take up all ye same Land abovementioned (Excepting ye Land of Pelle Rambo), They the Peticonrs seating & Improoveing itt according to his honor ye governors orders and Regulacons;

HANS PETERSEN of Carkes hoek Plt
HENRY COLMAN Deft

The plt demands by ballance of 43 for Land Sould: The deft. Replyes to haue pd all to ye plt & desires the plt to showe ye bill of sale. The Case referred.

ANDRIES HOMMAN Plt
LASSE DALBO Deft } Referred till next Court day

WILLIAM DARVALL by
EPH: HERMAN his attorn } Plt
JONAS NIELSEN Deft } In an action of debt by bill ye sume of 270 gilds

The deft. aknowledges the debt but denys ye payment because the bill is Lost by Thom: harwood;

The Pltss attorney proffers to giue the deft a sufficient discharge Record & withall security that the debt shall not hereafter bee more demanded;

The Cort ordered Judgemt to bee Enterred agst ye deft for ye sume of 270 gilders according to bill wth ye Costs, Provyded the plt or attorney at ye receipt, gives the deft a sufficient discharge to saue him harmelesse for the future of ye sd bill;

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JOHN TEST Plt

JOHN ASHTON as the attorney of Elizabt Kinsey } Deft

The Plt demands of this deft the restitution of 5½ Bevers, Left wth hur ye sd Elizabeth Kinsey In trust & to bee restored to him ye plt when hee should send for them;

The deft Replyes that sence Elizabeth Kinsey is come bake hur selfe hee is dismist of his attorney ship & therefore desires this plt to sue hur ye sd Elizabeth hurselfe;

The Cort doe order that sence Elizabeth Kinsey is here hurselfe, & John ashton declaring yt hee is dismist, that therefore Elizabeth Kinsey appeare here ye next Court to answer to this suite hurselfe;

Laurens Cock Sworne in Court declares that hee heard Elizabeth Kinsey say that the beauers were only secured by hur for John Test & yt they were not hur bevers, & sayeth further that John ashton seuerall tymes tould this depont that hee knew they were John Test his beauers but hee could not deliver ym so Long his mistris Elizt Kinsey was not att home;

James Sanderlins John Test and william orian appraizers appointed to appraize ye attached servant Justa Justassen, in ye action of Peter Bacorn agst Xtopher Billop, Returned their award that they vallued sd Justa his servis to Captn Billop worth 650 gildrs

Lawrens Cock In Cort Ingaged to ye undersherrife will: warner to pay this abovesd 650 gilders for and in behalfe of him ye sd Justa Justassen;

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Upon the Peticon of Jan Van Cuelen The Co^{rt} haue granted him Liberty to take up one hundered acres of Land wthin this Co^{rts} Jurisdiction w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by any others, Provyded hee the Peticon^{r} seats & Improoves the same according to his hono^{r} ye gov^{rs} orders & Regulacons.

This day appeared in Court John Test of upland merchant, whoe declared to assigne Transport and make ouer free & cleare of all Incumbrances, unto Richard friends of waymouth & milcomriges in y^{e} kingdom of England his heirs and assigns, all that y^{e} s^{d} John Test his plantation or farme Lying and being att upland aforesaid Contayning 200 acres of as well cleared as wood Land; together wth all and singular y^{e} dwelling houses outhouses fences orchard & all other itts appurtenances together wth ye oxen cowes hoggs & sheepe thereupon; This aboves^{d} Land was first granted by pattent from Governo^{r} francis Louelace bearing date 7th of June 1672 unto neeles matsen; & sence by y^{e} s^{d} neeles mattsen sould unto John Test by John Test unto Rich: Guy, by Rich: Guy unto John hayles, by John hayles again to John Test & by y^{e} s^{d} John Test unto y^{e} aboves^{d} Richard friends, and the s^{d} John Test declared to haue Given unto y^{e} s^{d} Richard friends a deed of sale & all ye papers & wrytings Conserning ye premisses, unto him y^{e} s^{d} Rich: friends; aforenamed.

James Sanderlins as attorney of Richard friends of waymouth etc: did in Co^{rt} declare to aknowledge the assigning & makeing ouer of the aboves^{d} Land plantation Cattle and

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All itts appurtenances unto Stephen Chambers of waymouth & milcomriges aforenamed; and that hee ye s^{d} Richard friends; had Given unto him ye s^{d} Stephen Chambers; an absoluth deed & Conveigance of ye premisses y^{e} 8th day of august 1679: in New Yorke; as also y^{e} Pattent & all other Papers belonging or appurtayning to ye same; and that there was att p^{r}sent upon y^{e} s^{d} plantation in the Custodie of y^{e} Tennant will: oxle fower oxen three Cowes three sowes & twoo yeos & their Increase; and further hee y^{e} s^{d} James Sanderlins declared that hee as y^{e} attorney of Stephen Chambers aboves^{d} did for and to y^{e} use of him y^{e} s^{d} Stephen Chambers take possession of all & singular y^{e} Land & premisses:

Upon the Peticon of Harman Jansen of Carkes hoek; The Co^{rt} doe grant him Liberty to take up on the west syde of this Riuer of delow^{r} wthin this Courts Jurisdiction; one hundered & fifty acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore is not granted taken up or Improoved by others; the Peticon^{r} seating & Improoveing y^{e} same according to Lawe Regulacons & orders;

This day appeared in Court James Sanderlins and Laurens Cock whoe declared to haue sould assigned and made ouer unto walter forest John forest & francis forest, all their y^{e} s^{d} James Sanderlins & Laurens Cocks Right Tytle and Intrest to a Certayne tract or parcell of Land of 417 acres; Lying and being on the west of delowar River beginning at a Corner marked whyte oake standing at the north East syde of poetquessink Creeke at ye mouth

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thereof, and from thence Running along ye River syde bounded therewith north East ninety perches, and East by north Twoo hundered fourthy & six perches to a Corner marked Pyne, standing att ye river syde, from thence north north west by a Lyne of marked trees 300 perches to a corner marked Spannish oake standing at ye syde of ye maine Run of ye s^{d} Creeke, and from thence following the severall Courses of the s^{d} Creeke, to ye first mentioned Corner whyte oake Contayine 417 acres as aboves^{d} according to ye surveighs made thereof by the surveigo^{r} walter wharton ye: 8th day of octob^{r} 1678;

Henry Hastings this day apearing in Court, declared to haue sould assigned and set over unto John Test of Upland his heirs and assignes, all his ye s^{d} Henry Hastings Right Tytle and Intrest; to a Certayne parcell or tract of Land; called hastings hope, scituate and being on the west syde of delowar River; a myle above Poetquessink Creeke, beginning at a Corner marked Pine standing by the Riuer Syde being a Corner bounded Tree of ye Land of James Sanderlins and Laurens Cock and from thence Running East by ye River syde one hundered & Eighty perches to a Corner marked Red oake, standing att ye upper syde of ye mouth of a small branch from thence north north west 341 perches then west south west 100 perches to a Corner marked Spannish oake of s^{d} James and Laurens and standing at ye syde of ye maine Run of Poetquessink Creek and from thence S. S. East by their Lyne of marked trees 300 perches to ye first mentioned Corner marked Pyne at

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ye River syde, Contayning Twoo hundered acres of Land, according to the surveig made thereof by the surveigo^{r} walter wharton ye 10th of october 1678:

Jonas Nielsen makeing apeare to ye Court that there was due unto him for Expensis, about the burriells of Peter Veltscheerder & Christiaen Samuels whoe were by the Indians murthered att Tinnagcong Island[1] in ye servis of m^{r} Peter alrichs in ye Jeare 1672 the sume of 106 gilders, and s^{d} Jonas desiering sattisfaction; The Court are of opinion that Either m^{r} alrichs whoese servants they were, must pay ye same, or Else ye s^{d} Jonas must bee paid out of the Estates of the deceased if any bee or can bee found;

Upon the Peticon of will: orian The Co^{rt} granted him Liberty to take up wthin ye Jurisdiction of this Court one hundered acres of Land Provyded that hee ye s^{d} orian makes p^{r}sent Improovement on ye s^{d} Land & seates ye same according to his Hono^{r} ye governo^{rs} Regulacons, The s^{d} Land to bee not before by any others taken up or Improoved.

Upon the Request of michill Izard Late undersherrife; The Co^{rt} doe grant him Execution according to Lawe against all p^{r}sons (his debtors for fees) whoe shall deny him his Just fees Earned in ye tyme of his being undersherrife of this County.

Albert Hendrix of Lamoco apearing in Court, declared to Transport and make ouer unto John Test of Upland all

[1] "Tinnagcong Island." See note *ante* page 141.

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his Right Tytle and Intrest to a Certayne small parcell of Land, Lying and being att ye head of Upland Creeke beginning att Robberd Waedes markt beetch tree standing att ye syde of the Creeke, and soe up along the Creek syde to a small gut or Run, and soe up along the sd run to a markt whyte oake tree and soe stricking dounwards againe wth a Lyne of markt Trees to the place of beginning, itt being a narrow slipe alongst the run or Creeke syde and Contaynes about fourthy acres of Land; This Land being part of a greater quantity Granted unto him ye sd Albert by Pattent from ye Governor and Called Lamoco; and hee ye sd albert declared to haue Received full sattisfaction for the same;

John Test of Upland, declared in Cort to Transport and make ouer unto Richard Boveington and John Grub all and singular the slipe of Land here abovementioned, made ouer unto him the sd John Test by albert Hendrix of Lamoco; and declares to haue Received full sattisfaction of them ye sd Richard and John for ye same;

John Test of upland apearing in Court declared to haue bargained, sould Transported and made ouer all his Right Tytle and Intrest to a Certayne tract of Land Called the hopewell of Kent Unto Richard Boveington and John Grubb both of upland, the sd Land Lying and being on the west syde of this River of delowar and on the southwest syde of upland Creeke beginning at a Corner markt blake oake of ye Land of albert hendrixen Called Lamoco, standing att ye syde of the sd Creeke by ye mouth of a smal

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Run, from thence Running South Southwest up the sd Run 136 perches to the head thereof, and from ye head of the sd Run S: west 155 perches, by a Lyne of markt trees to a Corner markt blake oake of ye Land of marretties Kill, from thence west southwest by a Lyne of marked trees 80 perches to a Corner marked whyte oake from thence North Northwest 266 perches to a Corner marked blake oake, from thence East North East by a Lyne of marked trees 296 perches to a Corner marked poplar, standing att ye syde of a small Run, from thence East South East doune ye sd Run 22 perches to the mayne Creeke, and from thence doune alonge the sd Creek, to the first mentioned black oak, Contayning Fower hundered acres of Land, according to ye surveigh, made thereof by the Late Surveigor walter wharton the 27th of September 1678; hee ye sd John Test onely Excepting and Reserving out of this abovesd 400 acres of Land the uppermost part thereof Contayning one hundered acres; wch hee ye sd John Test hath sould unto William Woodmancy, so that Richard and John haue noe more then 300 acres of Land: and they the said Richard Boveington and John Grub did agree wth ye sd Test to pay for the Pattenting of ye sd Land themselves

John Test of Upland in Court declared to Transport and make ouer unto William Woodmancy of Upland one hundered acres of Land out of the tract of 400 acres abovementioned being the uppermost part thereof; and was divyded from ye other 300 acres wth a Lyne of marked trees by ye surveigor Walter Wharton.

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Albert Hendrix of Lamoco, apearing in Court did aknowledge a deed for ye makeing ouer unto oele Eriksen of all ye upland Lying and being below upl^{d} Creeke betweene twoo Little Creekes Called harwikes Kill & middle[1] Kill but the marrishes were Excepted & Reserved. This Land was first granted by Pattent from Governo^{r} Louelace y^{e} 10th of april 1673: unto Juns Justassen in a greater quantity and sence one third part thereof made ouer to him ye s^{d} albert as by ye deed, bearing date Equall wth these p^{r}sents may now att Large appeare;

Itt being Represented to ye Court by the Church Wardens of Tinnagcong and wicaco Churches[2] that the fences

[1] Now Stony Run.

[2] So late as 1675, the only church north of that at Crane-hook was the Swedish Church on Tinicum, a wooden structure which stood near the house of Gov. Printz, and was built by him, and consecrated by Campanius in 1646 (Camp. 85). The announcement of its erection may be found in a Report made by Printz to the West India Company, Feb. 20th, 1647 (Swedish MSS. Archives Hist. Soc. Penna.), in which he says: "I have caused a church to be built in New Gottemburgh, according to our Swedish fashion, adorning and decorating it so far as our limited resources and means would allow." Its site and that of its grave-yard, have long since been washed away by the action of the river. That portion of the island which included the land on which the fort, the mansion of Printz and the church stood, was in possession of the family of the late Mr. Thomas Smith of Tinicum for many generations, and became their property probably shortly after it was owned by Jeuffro Armegart Printz, the daughter of Governor Printz, and the wife of Gov. John Pappegoya. In connection with the history of the ancient church, we are informed by Mr. Aubrey H. Smith of the following incident as related to him by his father, who was the subject of it, and which happened more than eighty years ago: that the latter, "when a child, was wandering with his elder sister, afterwards the wife of Daniel King, of Philadelphia, along the base of the steep bank where the grave-yard had been, and seeing a board projecting

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about ye Church Yards, and other Church buildings are mutch out of Repair, and that some of the People members of ye s^{d} Churches are neglective to make the same up etc: The Co^{rt} haueing taken ye premisses into Consideracon, doe find itt necessary to order authorize & Impower and doe by these p^{r}sents, order, authorize & Impower the Respective Church wardens of ye s^{d} Twoo Churches of Tinnagcong & wicaco, to order & summons the Respective members of ye s^{d} Churches from tyme to tyme and att all tymes when itt shall bee found necessary, to build make good and keepe in Repair the s^{d} Churchyard fences as also, the Church and all other the appurtenances thereof and if any of the s^{d} members upon warning doe proove neglective In the doing of their Proportion to the same, They and Each of them to forfeit fifty gilders for Each such neglect to bee Levyed out of their goods and Chattles Lands and Tennements;

The Court adjorned till the 2^{d} Tuesday in the month of march now next Ensuing;

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from the bank, the sister pulled it from its sandy bed, when much to the consternation of both, a human skull came rolling down to their feet."

In the year 1675, the Court at New Castle directed the magistrates at Upland "to cause a church to be built at Wickegkoo" (Hazard's Ann., 417). A block house with loop holes for defence against the Indians had been erected in 1669 at Wicaco, and the present church was built upon its site and finished in 1700, when the church at Tinnicum was probably abandoned, some of the materials in that building having been used for the church at Wicaco. The order of the Court it may have been thought was sufficiently complied with, by adapting the block house to the purposes of a church, and even this was not accomplished until the year 1677 (Clay's Annals of the Swedes, 64, 81, 82. Hazard's Ann., 438. Watson's Annals, i. 147).

March 10th: $16\frac{79}{80}$

Att a Co^{rt}: held att Upland in Delowar River by his may^{ties}: authority march y^{e}: 10th: $16\frac{79}{80}$

P^{r}sent

M^{R} Peter Cock
M^{R} Peter Rambo
M^{R} Israel helm
M^{R} Otto Ernest Coch
M^{R} Lasse andries
M^{R} Oele Swensen

} Justices

Thomas Kerby Pl^{t}
gilbert wheeler Def^{t}

The Pl^{t}: demands of this def^{t}: for worke done for this deft. from ye 7th of october Laest past untill the 16th of Jannuary following, soe mutch as is usuall to be given p^{r} day, w^{ch}: is fower gilders p^{r}: diem wth: costs; The deft. replyes that this pl^{t}: workt noe Longer for him then to about Cristmas, & sayes that hee had profferred him pay for what ye pl^{t} had done; The debates of both partees being heard, The Co^{rt}: doe find that this Pl^{t}: has workt seventy dayes for ye def^{t}: w^{ch}: being p^{r}formed in ye dead tyme of ye yeare, The Def^{t}: is allotted and ordered to pay the same after The Rate of fifty styvers pr day, soe that this def^{t}: must pay unto this Pl^{t}: ye sume of fower pounds seven shillings & sixpence togeather wth Costs of Suite;

Robberd Drawton Pl^{t}
gilbert wheeler Def^{t}:

The Pl^{t}: demands of this Deft: for worke done 63 dayes after ye rate of fower gilders p^{r}: diem;

March 10th $16\frac{7}{8}\frac{9}{0}$

The debates of both partees being heard; & The Court Examining the buisnesse doe allott ye Plt after the rate of 50 styvers pr diem & for 54 dayes worke, The sume of three pounds seven shillings & sixpence wth Costs of suite, wch hee is to pay to ye Plt in Corne or other good pay in ye River;

Whereas Andries Boen made itt apeare that Edward Williams was Justly Indebted unto him by his bill under hand & seale the sume of therteen hundered pounds of tobbacco & Caske payable in maryland and that hee ye sd andries Boen had made severall demands of ye sd Tobbacco in maryld but could never Receive any sattisfaction and that therefore hee ye sd andries Boen haueing found a horse bridle & sadle of the sd Edward Williams wthin this county of upland, hath Layd an attachmt upon ye same & humbly craues an order agst ye sd Edward williams for the sd 1300 ℔ of tobb. and that the said attached premisses may bee appraized.

The Cort doe order Judgemt to bee Enterred agst ye sd Edward williams for ye payment of ye sd 1300 ℔ of tobb. wth Costs, and doe order that the sd attached horse & premisses bee appraized, appointing for appraizers Laurens Cock & John Champin, whoe are to bee sworne by one of ye Justices accordingly;

Francis Steevens Plt
Claes Jansen Deft

The Plt demands of this deft by ballance of acct. for sundry goodes sould & Received by the deft: ye sume of

March 10th $16\frac{73}{80}$
fourthy and sixe Gilders, for wch hee humbly Craues Judgemt wth Costs;

The deft ounes the acct. Excepting twoo Els of Ribbning; and sayes that hee proffered & paid ye Plt in pompkiens according to agreemt

Thomas Stroud sworne declares that hee being sent by frank Steevens to fetch ye pompkiens did demand them but Claas Jansen did refuse to bring them down to ye water syde; frank Steevens was sworne to his acct.

The debates of both partees being heard, the Cort ordered yt ye deft Claes Jans. pay unto ye plt Twenty gilders in wheat & Twenty Six in pompkiens after ye rate of sixteen gilders pr hundered, Togeather wth Costs of suite.

Harmen Ennis Plt
Andries Homman Deft.

The Plt demands of this deft for ye hire of one pr of oxen, for one yeare fourthy fyve gilders wth Costs;

The deft answers that hee had not ye oxen one full yeare.

The debates of both partees being heard, The Court ordered the deft to pay unto ye plt twenty three gilders wth Costs;

Upon the Peticon of Will: Woodmancy The Cort doe Grant and permit him to take up on ye west syde of this River of delowar, wthin this Courts Limits one hundered acres of Land wth a small Proportion of marrish according to ye place ye Land Lyeth In, wch heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved; Provyded the Peticonr

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makes prsent Settlement & Improovet thereon according to Lawe Regulacon and orders;

Richard Noble appeared in Court and delivered a Commission for Survr of this County wch being Read in Cort was ordered to bee Recorded, vizt

Copia

SEALE

Sr Edmund Andross, Knt. Seigneur of Sausmarez Leiut and Gouernr Genll under his Royall Highness James Duke of Yorke & albany, &c. of all his Territoryes in America By vertue of his mayties Letters Pattent and the Commission & Authority deriued unto me I doe herby Constitute & apoint you Mr Richard Noble to be Surveigor of upland in Delowar Riuer and Dependences within the Jurisdiction of that Court In which Employment you are to Act in Surveiging of such Lands for which you shall from time To time Receue Warrants or orders and to make due and Exact Returnes thereof and in all things to behaue your selfe according to the trust Repossed in you as surveigor According to Lawe Giuen under my hand and seale in New York this 15 day of Desember in the 31 yeare of his Maties Reigne Anoq. Dom 1679;

Past the office (was signed) E. Andross (signed) Mathias Nicols Secry

Upon the Peticon of william warner senior; The Court doe grant and permitt him to take up on the west syde of this River wthin the Limits of this Court, Twoo hundered acres of Land, wch heretofore hath not ben granted taken

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up or Improoved: Provyded the sd Peticonr makes prsent Settlement & Improovement thereof according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

JOHN TEST Plt
JAMES CRAWFORD Deft

The deft: not appearing and ye Plt desiering that ye action might bee Continued, Itt was by the Cort Granted;

JOHN CLAAS PAARDE COOPER Plt
JOHN SHACKERLY Deft
} an attachmt upon twoo Cowes.

This action was by the Court Referred til next Court day, and in ye meane tyme the Plt is Recommended, to settle and make an End of his buisnesse wth Johannes Kip, whoe as ye Cort is Informed is comming and is to act as attorney of ye administrator of John Shackerlys Estate;

Upon the Peticon of John Test the Cort doe grant & permit him to take up on ye westsyde of this River of delowar wthin ye Jurisdiction of this Court; one hundered acres of Land wch heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved; Provyded the sd Peticonr makes present Settlement & Improovemt thereon according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

HANS PETERSEN of Carkes hoek Plt
HENRY COLMAN Deft
} in an action of debt 43 gildr

The deft being absent and the matter in dispute being soe Inconsiderable that itt is not worth ye Longer Continuance The Cort therefore Impowered Justice otto Ernest Cock, to hear & Examine the acct: & Case and to make a

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final End & determinacon thereof, as hee shal find Just & Equitable;

ANDRIES HOMMAN Plt
LASSE DALBO Deft

The Case of differrence being about ye Cost & Charges & fees of a former action Commenced by this plt & ye rest of ye Inhabitants of Carkes hooke agst this Deft in this Cort consern: marsh etc:

The Cort Examining the buisnesse doe find that ye sd fees were not to bee paid by this Deft and therefore itt is ordered, that, all ye Carkes hoek Inhabitants In Generall pay ye Clercq and Sherrifs fees Each his proportionable sheare, as well of ye former action as of this prsent action, and ye Deft is discharged of this suite;

JOHN TEST Plt
JOHN ASHTON & ELIZABETH KINSEY } Deft

John Test appearing in Court did declare to haue agreed & therefore withdrew the action;

ROBBART WADE Plt
JOHN GRUB Deft } In an act: of ye Case withdrawne by ye Plt himselfe

ROBBERD WADE Plt
JOHN GRUBB Deft } in an action of debt this action was Lykewys withd: by ye plt as above.

HANNA SALTER Plt
JOHN ASHTON Deft } This action was by ye Plt withd: in Court

Upon the Peticon of Peter Nealson; The Court doe grant & permit him to take up on the west syde of this

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River of Delowar, wthin this Courts Jurisdiction one hundered acres of Land for the accomodation of a watermill, Provyded itt bee not granted or taken up before and that ye peticonr seates & Improoves ye same according to Lawe Regulacons & orders;

Upon the Peticon; of Peter Nealson: The Court doe grant & permit him ye Peticonr to take up wthin ye Jurisdiction of this Cort on the westsyde of this River Twoo hundered acres of Land wch heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved, Provyded the Peticonr makes Improovemt & settlement thereon according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

Upon the Peticon of William Clayton The Cort doe Grant and permitt unto ye peticonr to take up wthin the Jurisdiction of this Court on the west syde of this River Twoo hundered acres of Land wth a small bitt or proportion of marrish according to ye place the Land Lyeth in Provyded the Peticonr Seates and Improoves the same Land according to Lawe Regulacons & orders, and that the Land bee not before granted taken up or Improoved by others

Mr Israell helm did this day declare to haue sould and made ouer unto James Sanderlins his houses Land and plantation att upland according to a deed past ye 9th Instant etc:

Whereas the Lawe allowes to ye Cort for Every Judgemt Given by the Cort 2s 6d and the same being hetherto not Collected or paid, and the Cort being in great want of some meanes to pay and defray their necessary Charges of meat

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& drinke, etc Itt is therefore this day Resolued and the undersherrife william warner is hereby Impowred to Collect & Receiue from ye following p[r]sons for Each action that is to say Judgem[t]: accord: to ye annexed List the sume of 2[s]: 6[d]: and that hee bee accomptable & give a Just and Exact account of his Receipt to ye Court att the next Courtday;

		Co[rts] fees
1677 June 13	Edmund Cantuel Plt: / John ashman Deft: — a Judgem[t] ag[st] ye Deft for 800 lb of Tobb:	£0 : 2 : 6
d[tto]:	Rich: Duckett a Jugem[t]: ag[st]: him upon ye Indytement of the high Sherrife	0 : 2 : 6
d[tto]:	Lasse Cock ag[st]: John ashmans Estate a Jud[t]m upon an atteachment	0 : 2 : 6
d[tto]:	Peter andries a Judgem[t]: ag[st]: John ashman Estate upon an Attachment	0 : 2 : 6
	Justice Israel helm p[lt]: / oele Coeckoe Deft — a Judgem[t]: ag[st]: the Deft: for hauing abused & struck ye p[lt]:	0 : 2 : 6
	Ruth the widdow of Thom Jeacox — a Judgem[t]: upon an attachm[t]: ag[st]: J° ashman	0 : 2 : 6

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HENRY WARD Plt THOM: DENNY Deft	a Judgemt agst ye Deft: for 400 ℔ of tob:	0 : 2 : 6
FRANCIS WALKER Plt JOHN ASHMAN Deft	a Judgemt agst ye Deftˢ horses etc	0 : 2 : 6
ALBERT HENDRICKS Plt ANDRIES BERTELSEN Deft	a Judgemt about a boare Each to pay halfe Charges	0 : 2 : 6
ANDRIES HOMMAN Plt LASSE DALBO Deft	act of assault & battery	0 : 2 : 6
MORT: MORTENS Junior plt MONS STAECKET Deft	act of assault etc	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN TEST Plt NEELES LEARSEN Deft	act of debt	0 : 2 : 6
WILL: TOM Plt JONAS NEALSON Deft	act of debt	0 : 2 : 6
THOM HARWOOD Plt HANS JURIAN Deft	act of debt	0 : 2 : 6
WILL TOM Plt JOHN CREEISSEN Deft	act of debt	0 : 2 : 6
ANDRIE BOEN Plt MOENS STAECKET	Judgemt for assault and Battery	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN ADDAMS Plt JOHN GRAY Deft	Judgemt for a boate	0 : 2 : 6
	Carried to ye other syde	£2 : 2 : 6
	Cort fees	
	Brought ouer from ye other side	£2 : 2 : 6

JOH: D: HAES Plt WILL: ORIAN Deft	Judgemt for a cowe	£0 : 2 : 6
BENK: SALING agst his wife & hans Peters		0 : 2 : 6
1678 June ye 18 JOHN SHACKERLY attorney of ADAM MOT plt agst Jan Classe Deft: Debt		0 : 2 : 6
JOHN ADDAMS Plt CHRISTOPHR BARNES Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN MOLL Plt CHRISTOPHR BARNES Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN TEST Plt NEELES LAERSEN Deft	Judgemt debt	0 : 2 : 6
EDMUND CANTWELL Plt NEELES LAERSEN Deft	Judgemt for ℓ130	0 : 2 : 6
OELE DIRKSEN Plt EUERT ALDRETS Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
JEAMS SANDERLINS Plt JOHN EDMUNDS Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
March 12 $16\frac{78}{79}$		
PETER JEGOU Plt LAURENTUS CAROLUS Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
WILL: ORIAN Plt JOH: D: HAES Deft	ordr of Cort	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN TEST Plt HANS PETERSEN Deft	Judgemt	£0 : 2 : 6
EDMUND DRAUFTON Plt DUNCKE WILLIAMES Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
JOHN SHACKERLY Plt JAN CLASEN Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6

March 12 $16\frac{78}{79}$

PETER BACOM Plt CAPTn BILLOP Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
Carried to ye other syde		£4 : 0 : 0
Brought ouer from ye other syde		£4 : 0 : 0
PETER JEGOU Plt THO: WRIGHT & GODFRY HANCOK Defts	Sentence	0 : 2 : 6
JAMES SANDERLINS Plt JOHN PEARS Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
WILL: DARUALL Plt JONAS NEALSON Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6

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march 10	THOM: KERLY Plt GILLBERT WHEELER Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
	ROBBARD DRAWTON Plt GILLBERT WHEELER Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
	ANDRIES BOEN Plt EDWARD WILLIAMS Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
	FRANCIS STEEUENS Plt CLAAES JANSEN Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
	HARMEN ENNIS Plt ANDRIES HOMMAN Deft	Judgemt	0 : 2 : 6
			£5 : 0 : 0

The whole acct. of ye Cort fees or amerciaments amounts to £5 : or 200 gilds: til this date as pr this records will more att Large appeare.

The Cort adjorned til ye 2d Teusday in June next.

8 June 1680

His Excell^{e} Governo^{r} Edmund Andros haueing Renewed ye Commission for the magistrates of upland County in Delowar River, ye same was Read publicqly att Upland ye 8th of June 1680; & stands hereunder Recorded viz^{t}

(Copia)

[Loco Sigili] S^{R} Edmund Andros Kn^{t} Liev^{t} and governo^{r} Gener^{ll} and vice admirall und^{r} his Roy^{ll} Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and albany &c: of new Yorke & dependences &c in america, By vertue of the authority derived unto mee I: doe hereby in his may^{ties} name Constitute appoint and authorize you M^{r} Otto Ernest Coch M^{r} Israll helm M^{r} henry Jones, M^{r} Lawsa Cock and M^{r} Geo: Browne to bee Justices of ye Peace in ye Jurisdiction of Upland Court or County in Delowar River & dependences, and any three or more of you to bee a Court of Judicature giving you and Every of you full Power to act in ye s^{d} Imployment according to Lawe and ye Trust Reposed in you, of w^{ch} all p^{r}sons are to take notice, and give you the due Respect and obedience belonging to yo^{r} Places in discharging of yo^{rs} dutys.

This Commission to bee of force for ye: space of one yeare from the Date hereof or till further order. Given under my hand & Seale of the Province in New Yorke this 28th day of may annoq. Domini 1680

Past ye office (was subscryed) E. Andross

Matthias Nicolls Secr:

8 June 1680

According to ye aforestanding Commission were sworne for Justices of ye Peace of Upland County Viz^{t}:

M^{R} Otto Ernest Coch
M^{R} Israell helm
M^{R} Henry Jones
M^{R} Laurens Cock

M^{r} George Browne not being p^{r}sent this Sessions, t'was ordered that notice hereof should bee sent him to appeare att ye next Court;

8 June 1680

Att a Court held att Upland in Delowar River on ye 2d: Teusday being ye 8th day of ye month of June in ye: 32 Yeare of his mayties Raigne annoq Dom: 1680

p^r^sent — M^R^ Otto Ernest Coch, M^R^ Israel helm, M^R^ Henry Jones, M^R^ Laurens Cock } Justices

James Sanderlins[1] Plt

Hanna Salter Deft

The Plt demands of this deft by ballance of accompts ye

[1] James Sandelands, who is so often mentioned in the Record, was one of the most conspicuous persons in the early history of Upland County. With a younger brother, whose name was Jonas, he came here from Scotland, probably as early as 1672, and was a large holder of property on the river. He married Ann, the daughter of Urine Keen, and died the 12th of April, 1692, aged 56, leaving a daughter, Catharine Yeates, who was married to Jasper Yeates, a native of Yorkshire, England. Mr. Yeates was educated to the profession of the law, and afterwards became one of the Provincial Judges, and was the grandfather of Judge Yeates, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Sandelands also left another daughter, the wife of George Foreman, and the following minor children, James, Jonas and Christian, Mary and Lydia. James Sandelands, the son to whose liberality St. Paul's Church at Chester was much indebted, died in 1707, aged about 29 years, and his widow, Prudence, afterwards became the wife of Henry Munday.

The engraving which forms the Frontispiece to the Record, is taken from a mural tablet in St. Paul's Church at Chester. The tablet is massive, and of gray sandstone, and is intereresting from the excellence of its execution, and as a specimen of early art.

Along its border in large and legible characters, are the words, "HERE LIES, INTERR–D ȶE BODIE OF JAMES SANDELANDS MARCHANT. JN UPLAND JN PENSILVANIA WHO DEPARTED THIS MORTAIL LIFE APRILE ȶE 12 1692[1] AGED 56 YEARS AND

[1] By the tablet being broken, there was chipped off a small piece which contained the year of death. In an attempt at restoration, the figures 1682 were cut instead of 1692.

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sume of twoo hundered & seven gilders, for w^{ch} he Craues Judgem^{t} wth Costs;

The deft ounes ye debt but desires some respit to get in ye wheat for pay The Court doe order Judgem^{t} to bee Enterred agst ye def^{t} for 207 gilders wth Costs, wth stay of Execution until next Courtday.

HENRY TREDWAY by witt: warner his attorney } P^{lt}
WITT: BEARD — Def^{t}

The P^{lt} demands of this deft: ye sume of 62 gild^{rs}

The deft: sayes to haue paid the debt by ye P^{lts} order unto walter wharton deceased; ordered that the def^{t} bring his witnesses att ye next Co^{rt}

JOHN TEST P^{lt}
JAMES CRAWFORD Def^{t} } P^{lt} & deft. both absent

a nonsuit ordered agst ye P^{lt} and ye deft. in default;

HIS WIFE ANN SANDELANDS." Its face is divided into two parts, the upper bearing in cipher the initials J. S. and A. S., the arms of the Sandeland family (Ar. a bend az.), and the representation of a plate, for which an inscription may have been intended. On the border dividing the two parts are carved the words VIVE MEMOR. LETHI FUGIT HORA. The lower half contains many emblems of mortality, the Tolling Bell, the Passing Bell, the Empty hour Glass, the Skull and Cross bones, an upright coffin bearing on its sides the words "MEMENTO MORI," "TIME DEUM," and in either corner, crossed, a sceptre and mattock, and mattock and spade.

This tablet was removed to the exterior of the church many years since, in consequence of its interfering with some repairs, was there defaced with whitewash, and finally broken in half. Through the exertions of Dr. J. M. Allen, of Chester, it has been carefully cleaned, and placed in the vestibule of the new church (Deed Book A., p. 13. Court Minutes, 1692. "Petition of Prudence Munday, late Sandelands," *West Chester.*—Administrations, 1708, Book B., p. 67, Philada.).

8 June 1680

GUNLA ANDRIES Late wyfe to Pieter andries deceas^{d}. } Plt

JONAS NIELSEN Deft

The Plt Sues to bee put in Lawfull Possession of some Land att Kingsesse according to Pattent from Govern^{r}. R: Nicols and Severall former orders of this Court w^{ch} Land is to this day by the Deft detayned;

The debates of both partees being heard, & ye Pattent & former orders of Court Examined; The Court Doe confirme the former orders of this Court in that Case made and doe order the Sherrife to Put the Plt in Possession of y^{e} Land according to Pattent & ye s^{d}. former orders of this Court;

Capt^{n}. Edmund Cantwell was by the Co^{rt}. ordered to deliver unto Laurens Cock the Pattents w^{ch} are in his hands belonging unto John Ashman & Sam: Jeckson for Land about duke[1] Creeke pursuant to his hono^{r}. ye Governo^{rs} order:

Upon the Peticon of william Clarke, The Co^{rt}. doe grant him Liberty to Cause a Resurvey to bee made of his 200 acres of Land in Nieshambenies Creeke;

Upon the Peticon of Peter Cock senior, The Co^{rt}. doe Grant him Liberty to take up twoo hundered acres of Land w^{ch}. heretofore hath not ben granted taken up or Improoved, he seating & Improoveing the same according to orders & Regulacons of ye Governo^{r}.

Upon the Peticon of Neeles Jonassen the Court doe

[1] Probably Duck Creek, Delaware.

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grant him Liberty to take up twoo hundered acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben granted taken up or Improoved by others hee seating & Improooveing ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of Thomas fairman the Court doe grant him Liberty to take up twoo hundered acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted or taken up by others, hee seating & Improooveing the same according to orders Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of Henry Jacobs the Co^{rt} doe grant him to take up twoo hundered acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improooveing ye same according to Regulacon & Lawe;

Upon the Request of moens Staecket The Court haue Released him of ye bond of Good behauior, whereunto hee was bound heretofore by the Co^{rt} wth this Caution that hee for the future behaues himselfe soe that no Just Complaint may arize against him on ye acct. of his future ill behauior.

Itt being Represented to ye Court by ye Constable andries homman, that Claes Cram Lives in adultery wth ye wyfe of Benk Salung, ordered that if ye Constable shall for ye future perceive or heare ye same any more that hee apprehend them & cause them to bee bound ouer to ye next Court.

Itt was this day by the Co^{rt} taken Into Consideracon; &

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ordered that for ye defraying of ye Charges of this Courts sitting Each person shall pay Jearly one Scipple of wheat or 5 gilders according to former order & Practise, and also That all the arrier of ye former Jears bee delivered & brought unto Justice Otto Ernest att Tinnagcong Island, such as proove neglective to be fetched by ye Constable by way of restraynt.

Richard Noble ye Surveyor of this County of Upland this day made Returne in Co^{rt} of ye following surveys made for ye afternamed p^{r}sons viz^{t}:

a survey for andries Boen of	200 acres of Land
for william Clayton	206 acres
for Christiaen Claess	100 acres
for andries Homman	200 acres
for will: woodmancy	100 acres
for Peter Nealson	200 acres
for william orian	150 acres

wich above^{d} Surveys were by ye Co^{rt} approoved of, and Returned to ye office in New Yorke; for further Confirmacon by his hono^{r} ye governo^{r}.

In Regard that upland Creeke where ye Court heitherto has sate is att ye Lower End of ye County; The Court therefore for ye most Ease of ye People haue thought fitt for ye future to sitt & meet att ye Towne of Kingsesse[1] in ye Schuylkills.

[1] Town of Kingsesse. The site of this place was probably in the immediate vicinity of the Swedish mill erected by Governor Printz near the Blue Bell tavern on the Darby Road.

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Upon ye desire of Gunla Andries & hur husband Justice henry Jones desiering that a Certaine award & Returne of some p^{r}sons heretofore by ye Co^{rt} appointed to view ye Lands & heare & determine ye difference about ye same betweene Peter andries decesed & Jonas neelsen may bee put upon Record, itt was by ye Co^{rt} granted, & itt being in dutch written is to bee Translated in English.

followeth ye Coppy of ye aboves^{d} Paper: Translated & Recorded viz^{t}

(Copia & Transl^{t})

On this day ye 4th of June 1673 at Kingsesse Att ye request of Peter andries, and according to ye order of ye Laest Courtday; ordering us to see & Judge of ye differences & disputes of Land betweene ye s^{d} Peter andries & Jonas Nielson of Kingsesse; we underwritten haue, viewed betweene Lands & Lands; and do according to o^{r} conschiences & best knowledge award & Judge as followeth; first a small garden or spot of Land Lying att ye Thrashhouse of Jonas Nielsen, w^{ch} was given him by S^{r} Robbart, and before that in dispute before ye Court, but by Information of ye high Sherrife Edmund Cantwell & M^{r} will: Tom disannuled and by M^{r} Peter Rambos Informacon, that ye s^{d} peece of Land hath ben in his possession and was by him sould to M^{r} will: Tom & by ye s^{d} Tom sould to Peter andries, wherefore upon ye s^{d} advys & upon ye Courts sentence wee Judge the s^{d} peece of Land to belong to Pieter andries, and that hee may take itt in possession & use itt as his oune:

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2^{dly} Upon a dispute that Jonas Neelsen doth clayme a peece of Land, w^{ch} M^{r} Tom sould to Peter andries, & had ben in possession of Peter rambo That was by Tolleration of Peter andries granted to harmen Ennis & Gerrit Ennis to use for soe Long tyme as they the said brothers had ye use of ye Land of swen Gunnarson and ye s^{d} Land Lying now before ye s^{d} Pieter andriessens Land, and keepeing him from ye woods wth his other Land, and whereas Peter Rambo now heer present doth confesse & proffers to make good, that when hee Lived heer hee had as good outway & as mutch priviledge to goe out into ye woods wth his Land as any of ye neigbours or any of ye Inhabitants then had in Kingsesse wherefore wee Judge upon ye s^{d} advys of Peter Rambo, & according to Justice, that hee ye s^{d} Peter Andriess may goe into ye woods wth his Land, as well as others his neigbours att Kingsesse, and hee Jonas neelsen is quyt & all to cleare & desist of ye same Land & to Leaue itt to Peter andries wth as good fence, as when hee ye s^{d} Jonas neelsen did take itt from ye s^{d} Brothers aforementioned;

3^{ly} Wee haue seen that Jonas Neelsen has gon over ye hygway into ye Land of Peter andries w^{ch} by Pattent belongeth unto him, betweene both ye highwayes & wee find y^{t} ye s^{d} peece of Land is a hinderance to ye s^{d} Peter andries, wee therefore doe Judge that according to Pattent that same peece of Land also belongeth to Peter andries, & Jonas neelsen is Left to proove ye Contrary.

4^{ly} We haue seen that 25 schrett[1] of fence is taken away

[1] *Schrett*, a corruption of the Dutch word "*Schreede*," which signifies a measure of five feet in length.

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of ye middle fence betweene ye partees, but noe proofe appearing by whoome itt hath ben taken away nor to whome itt belongeth, Itt is Left by us untill further proofe thereof shall bee made.

5^{ly} Upon ye Pretence of Peter andries that ye houses of Swen Gunnarson doe stand upon his Land as appears by his Pattent, & that itt tends to his prejudice, wee haue therefore viewed & seen that ye same stand upon his Land according to his Pattent, & upon the desire of Peter andries that they may bee remooved from that place; Itt is o^{r} Judgements that his Request in reason may bee Consented him;

6^{ly} & Laestly about ye dispute & Controversy of a Certaine garden Lying in ye Toune of Kingsesse & att p^{r}sent used by Jonas neelsen But according to ye Informacon & advys of Peter Rambo, ye same hath before ben in possession of 4 men whoe used itt & according to that Possession there belongs to Peter andries ¼ part and one halfe part; whereupon wee Judge Peter andries to have soe mutch of ye same.

All what is abovementioned we haue seen, and by advys wee haue judged & awarded as on Every perticular above is mentioned, being reddy to vindicat ye same when requiered, given under o^{r} oune hands & markes dated utsupra

(was signed)

Oluff Stilla

Hans ⍋ monsen
his marke

nieles N laersen
his marke

Otto Ernest Coch

neeles N matsen
his marke

Hendrik H Janss
his marke

Att a Court held att Kingsesse for upland County in Delowar River, By his Mayties authority october ye 13th 1680;

P^r^sent — M^R^ Otto Ernest Coch, M^R^ Israel helm, M^R^ Henry Jones, M^R^ Laurens Cock, M^R^ George Browne — Justices

M^r^ George Browne being absent the Laest Court, was sworne & did take the oath as a Justice according to ye Commission

Hanna Salter P^l^
John Ashton Def^t^

The P^lt^ declares that this deft is seated upon a Plantatation & peece of Land w^ch^ belongs to this P^lt^ & was by hur bougt of Jurian hartsvelder, and that hee by force detaynes ye same & refuses to surrender etc. The def^t^ pleads that hee has a Lawfull Right to ye same;

Justice Laurens Cock declares that ye bargaine was conditionally, that if John ashton paid by a Certayneday w^ch^ was not p^r^formed & therefore void.

The debates of both partees being heard The Court doe order that ye P^lt^ haue the Land according to ye assignment of Jurian hartsvelder upon ye Pattent and that the def^t^ quit ye same & pay Costs;

Claes Cram P^lt^
Hans Peterss Def^t^ } In an action of slaunder & defamation;

The P^lt^ Complaynes that this deft hath slaundered him, saying that hee was theefe etc:

Octobe^{r} 13th 1680.

Lasse Dalbo and moens Janss sworne declare that they heard ye def^{t} say you are a theef, you haue stolen aboard of ye shipp & soe you haue stolen all yo^{r} Riches here & further say nott;

The deft: not being able to proove what hee hath said or any part thereof The Court ordered that ye deft: openly shall declare him selfe a Lyar; & that hee shall further declare ye P^{lt} to bee an honest man & pay 20 gilders to ye P^{lt} for his Losse of tyme, togeather wth Costs of suite.

MOENS PETERSEN STAECKET P^{lt} } In an action of
HANS JURIAN Def^{t} } slaunder & defamat.

William orian sworne declares that Laest yeare Living att Calkoenhoek hee oft' heard great Rangling between the P^{lt} & deft: and that ye deft. sayed you haue broaken my caues Legg and thou art a gallows theef & further sayeth nott.

Mort: Mortensen sworne sayeth that hee heard the deft: Hans Jurian saay that itt was a Rogg that broake his Calfes Legg but that hee named nobody & further sayeth not.

The P^{lt} alledging that hee wanted 4 of his materiall witnesses w^{ch} were subpened & doe not appeare, & desiering that ye case might bee referred till next Court ye same was granted.

HANS JURIAN P^{lt} } In an action of assault &
MOENS STAECKET Def^{t} } battery

The P^{lt} declares that this deft: some tyme in ye month of $\frac{7r}{-}$: Laest, wthout any Just cause hath assaulted & beaten

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yor Plt att his owne doore & pursued yor Plt further in his own house calling the Plt Rogue & dogg & a thousand more names, & moreouer threatned to kill yor Plt when Ever hee met him, etc;

Morten Mortensen sworne in Court sayeth that some tyme in Septembr Laest this deft moens Staecket came to him all Blouddy and sayed to this deponant doe you see how I: am beaten, therefore wth whome do you hold itt, if I: thought that you held wth hans Jurian I: would wthin 12 howres bee my own Judge, and a Little whyle after this deponant heard that this deft. was on horseback & called for his sword his gun pouder & shott and then Rud before Hans Jurians doore & called him saying you dogh you Rogue come out, I: will shoott you a bullet threw yor head, all this past in ye night & ye deponant sayes to haue heard but not seen itt.

The Court haueing heard the debates of both partees, Doe find itt necessary for ye prventing of future mischief, To order and doe hereby order that both Plt & deft: shall bee bound and are hereby bound ouer to their good behauiors, Strictly to keepe his mayties Peace to Each other and all other his mayties subjects for ye space of one yeare and six weekes next Ensuing upon ye penalty of 40 pounds of Lawfull monny of England to bee paid by him that shall first breake ye peace to his mayties use; and doe further Condemne him ye sd moens Staeckett to pay a fyne of 200 gilders to bee applyed for ye defraying the Courts necessary Expensis; and Each to pay halfe Charges of this action;

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HANS JURIAN P^{lt}.
MOENS STAECKETT Def^{t} } In an action of Slaunder

The P^{lt}. Complaynes that this deft. hath grosly abused him in his good name by Calling him a theef, and saying that this P^{lt} had stolen his Plank etc:

The deft. denys that hee has called this deft. a theef, but that hee has onley sayed that some Plank w^{ch}. ye P^{lt} had were Lyke his oune;

Morten Mortenss and andries homman sworne declare that they haue heard ye def^{t}. saye if Capt^{n}. hans Jurian has nott stolen ye Plank then Little Morten has stolen them & further say nott:

The Co^{rt}. haueing heard the Case debated doe order that ye: deft: shall publicqly in Co^{rt}. declare that hee hath rashly accused ye P^{lt}. and y^{t}. hee is Sorry for itt & pay ye Cost.

Ye deft: in Co^{rt}. did publicqly aknowledge the above;

JOHN STILLE P^{lt}
DIRK JANSEN Def^{t}

The P^{lt} declares that this def^{t}. has Privatly marked fower of this P^{lts} Piggs in ye Cripple[1] or swamp; of w^{ch}. hee desires Restitution wth Costs;

The def^{t}. Replyes to haue marked 4 Piggs, but knowes not otherwayes but that they were ye Piggs of his oune sowe. Lasse andries & Swen Lom sworne declare that to the best of their knowledge ye piggs did belong to John Stilles sowe, and y^{t} they came home to John Stilles house after they were marked by ye def^{t}.

[1] See note D at end of Record.

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The debates of both partees being heard The Court ordered, that ye P^{lt} shall keepe ye hoggs and sence it is found that throug a mistake ye Def^{t} hath marked them, hee is only ordered to pay ye Costs of suite;

Justa Justassen former servant to Capt^{n} Billop haueing upon an attachment of Peter Bacom ben appraized for the full tyme of his servis hee had then to serve and Laurens Cock haueing Ingaged in s^{d} Justas behalfe for ye payment of ye said appraizement & freed him ye s^{d} Justa from servis; The s^{d} Laurens Cock did this day in Court acquit & discharge s^{d} Justa of and from any of ye aforesaid tyme of servis and doth aknowledge to haue received Sattisfaction by specialty.

Apeared in Court Hans Kien whoe then & there declared to haue Bargained, sould and made ouer, and doth hereby Bargaine sell & make ouer unto Peter Rambo Junior his heirs & assignes for Ever a Certayne peece of meaddow or marsh Lying and being on the westsyde within Pemibackes Creeke & wthin a halfe a myle of ye mouth thereof, opposittouer against ye present house & plantation of The s^{d} Pieter Rambo, the s^{d} peece of marsh being a three square peece & is bounded wth Pemibackes Creeke, & ye fast Land of Taokanink, and in quantity about as mutch as fower good stakes of hay may bee mowed thereon; and s^{d} Hans Kien did aknowledge to haue Received full sattisfaction in hand to content for the same; memorandum this peece of marsh did to ye knowledge of the Court belong unto Erik Mullica

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as one of the Intressants of Taokanink whoe sould ye s^{d} marsh to ye s^{d} hans Kien & Kien to Rambo;

ANDRIES INCKHOOREN P^{lt}
ANDRIES HOMMAN ye Constable Def^{t}

The P^{lt} complaines that this def^{t} hath pulled him by the Beard & twisted his neck, desires to know ye reason & that ye def^{t} may bee ordered to make him reparation.

The deft. replyes that being Constable & hearing of a Hoore & a Roge w^{ch} kept att this p^{lts} house, he was in pursuit of them & was obstructed & hindered of doing his office by this P^{lt} whoome hee pusht from him, desires a nonsuit;

The Court haueing heard & Examined ye Case, doe order a nonsuit agst ye pl^{t} and doe strictly forewarne him of harbouring ye whoore anna Lears daughter & hur associates for ye future;

Justice OTTO ERNEST COCH P^{lt} } In an action of
MOENS PETERSEN STAECKET Def^{t} } slaunder & defamat:

The P^{lt} Complaines that this deft. maliciously has defamed and most highly slaundered him in his Honor & reputation, by terming him a hogh theef, desires that this def^{t} (if hee or any others can:) will proove ye same, or otherwayes that hee may bee punisht according to Lawe.

The deft sayes and protests, that hee never Knew heard or sawe, that this P^{lt} was guilty of any such fact, and that hee to his knowledge never sayed any such thing, but if that hee hath sayed itt (: as the witnesses doe afirme:)

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that itt must haue ben in his drink, hee humbly desires forgivenesse, sence hee finds himselfe in a great fault;

Hans Jurian, william orian & andries homman sworne in Co^{rt} declare that they haue heard moens Peterss Staecket say in full tearmes & substance, M^{r} Otto is a hogh theef of ye one & andries Boen of ye other syde & further say nott;

The Court haueing heard ye Case doe order that ye deft: shall publicqly in open Court declare that hee has wrongfully falsly & malisiously slaundered & blamed this P^{lt} and doe further fyne him for an Example to others to pay the sume of one thousand gilders wth the Costs;

The deft. did willingly in open Court, declare as above & humbly desires forgivenesse & prayes that ye fyne may bee remitted, Upon ye Intercession of Justice Otto Ernest, the Co^{rt} did remit ye fyne aboves^{d}.

Hans Moensen & Peter Peterss: Jocum	P^{lt}
Peter Rambo Senior	Def^{t}

The P^{lts} declare that this deft: doth detayne a Certayne peece of marsh of this P^{lt} Lying in ye Schuylcill & for w^{ch} the P^{lts} haue a Pattent, and therefore desire Restitution wth Costs;

The deft: Replyes that hee has no other marsh in his Possession, than what is his proper owne by Pattent, of older date, & sayes that the P^{lts} haue noe marsh mentioned in their Pattent;

The P^{lts} desire a Jury w^{ch} was Granted & a Jury was Impanneled viz^{t} Thomas Spry Caspares herman, will:

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orian will: Stafford John mifflin Richard Tucker Justa Justassen Lasse dalbo will: Jeacocx Erick Cock John Cock moens Peterss;

Peter Cock Senior sworne in Court sayeth that for many years past Hans moensen did make use & had ye marsh to mowe hay on, & further sayeth nott;

Peter Rambo in Court declared voluntarily himselfe that Capt^{n} hans moens for many years past did mowe hay on some part of ye fly — but sayeth further that in ye tyme of governo^{r} Louelace there came forth a proclamation, that all those as had or desired any Lands etc, should get a pattent for ye same, and y^{t} then hee Lawfully obtayned his pattent & ye p^{lt} neglected to get one

The Jury haueing heard ye debates of both partees, & ye Evidences sworne went out and Returning brought In the Verdict w^{ch} was as followeth viz^{t} wee find for ye defendant according to pattent, wth Costs.

The Court doe allow of ye Jury's verdict & passe Judgement accordingly:

Complaint being made by the Constable Andries Homman that Claes Cram Keeps unlawfull Company wth Anna Laers daughter, ye wyfe of Benk Salung; The Court haue ordered & strictly forbidden them both for ye future not to keepe Company together any more under what pretext soever upon Payne of severe punnishment and doe ord^{r} that Claes Cram pay ye Cost of this & ye former Complaint & order about ye same;

Upon the Peticon of John Mifflin Senior, The Court doe Grant him to take up 150 acres of Land, wthin ye

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Courts Limits, w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of John Mifflin Junior the Court doe grant him to take up 150 acres of Land, wthin ye Courts Limitts w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben granted or taken up by others hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of Andries Pietersen The Co^{rt} doe grant him to take up 100 acres of Land wthin this Courts Limits w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved by others hee seating & Improoveing the same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of Joseph handly; The Court doe Grant him to take up 100 acres of Land wthin this Courts Limits, w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of moens Cock The Court haue Granted him to take up 100 acres of Land, w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improved by others; hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons;

Upon the Peticon of Erik Cock The Court haue Granted him to take upp one hundered acres of Land w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe & regulacons.

Upon the Peticon of Richard Tucker the Court has

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Granted him to take up 100 acres of Land wthin this Courts Limits w^{ch} heretofore hath not ben granted taken up or Improoved by others, hee seating & Improoveing the same according to Lawe & regulacons.

Upon the Peticon of Andries Petersen desiering that hee may make a resurveig of his Land at Kingsess; The Court haue granted ye same provyded hee in noewayes Intrudes upon his neigbours Lands, w^{ch} Really belong unto them;

Upon the Peticon of Jonas Nielsen The Court doe grant him Liberty to Resurvey his Land att Kingsesse — hee in noewayes intruding upon others Land and that ye Resurvey bee made wth ye Cognizance of the neigbours that soe all stryfe & contention for the future may bee avoided;

Whereas the Court finds itt necessary for the due preserving of ye peace of o^{r} Souerayne Lord ye King, & ye hinderance of all attempts against ye same, that one other Constable more bee made & authorized to officiate betweene the Schuyl Kill & nieshambenies Kill, Itt was therefore this day ordered & Resolved, and M^{r} Erik Cock was nominated appointed & sworne as Constable for one yeare or till another bee put in his place.

Whereas the Court finds itt necessary that some fitt persons bee appointed as overseers of ye highwayes & Roads; and as overseers & viewers of all fences througout this County; It was therefore Resolved, and M^{r} John Cock & Lasse dalbo were this day appointed; & sworne overseers & viewers of ye highwayes & Roads & fences wthin this county for one yeare or til others bee appointed in their s^{d} places;

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Some Directions for ye s^{d} overseers of ye highwayes by them to bee followed ;

NB ye directions not resolved upon by ye Co^{rt}

Richard Noble ye Surv^{r} made returne in Co^{rt} of ye following survey made by him by ye governo^{rs} speciall order, w^{ch} ye Co^{rt} haueing Examined doe well Lyke thereof, & ord^{r} ye surv^{r} to make returne to ye Govern^{r}

Copia

By vertue of an ord^{r} from ye Govern^{r} bearing date 1^{r} June 1680 Laid out for Eph: Herman and Lawrence Cock a tract of Land called Hataorockon[1] scituated & being on ye west syde of delow^{r} Riv^{r} and on ye South East syde of hataorackan Creeke Beginning att a corn^{r} marked Spannish oake standing by ye river syde from thence N: N: W: by a Line of marked trees 320 perches to a Corner marked blake oake from thence W: S: W: by a Lyne of marked trees 130 perches to a corn^{r} marked red oake standing by hataorackan creeke, from thence doune ye s^{d} Creeke S: W: b S: 362 perches to a Corn^{r} marked white oake standing att ye mouth of hotaorack creeke from thence up by the River syde on severall Courses 460 perches to ye first mentioned Spannish oake containing 552 acres of fast Land & 50 acres of swamp in all 602 acres;

Surveyed ye: 4th of august 1680 (signed) p^{r} Rich: Noble Surv^{r} of upland County

The Co^{rt} adjorned till 2^{d} Teusday of ye month of march next Ensuing.

[1] See note E at end of Record.

March 8th $16\frac{80}{81}$

Att a Cort held in the Towne of Kingsess In Upland County in Delowar River, by his mayties authority march ye 8th: $16\frac{80}{81}$

Prsent — Mr Otto Ernest Coch, Mr Henry Jones, Mr Laurens Cock } Justices
Captn Edm: Cantwell H: Sherrife

Upon the Peticon of Barent Gerritzen; The Court doe grant the Peticonr Liberty to take up wthin ye Limitts of this Court, twoo hundered & fifty acres of Land wch heretofore hath not ben Granted taken up or Improoved by others hee ye Peticonr seating & Improoveing ye same according to Lawe Regulacons and orders;

In Lyke manner was Granted unto William Sandford to take up 250 acres of Land;

Magister Jacobus fabritius shewing by Peticon that in ye surveigh of his Land granted him by this Court, there is 65 acres of swamp; desires therefore a grant for to take up 65 acres of Land more etc; The Court doe grant ye Peticonr Liberty to take up 65 acres of vacant Land, but no abatement of quit rent, unlesse ye Governor should see cause for itt;

Moens Staecket Plt, Hans Jurian Def } partees agreed before tryll Each to pay halfe cost.

March ye 8th 16$\frac{80}{81}$

Laurens Cock	Plt	an attachmt upon all the defts corne & on a sowe & calfe;
Justa Jusstassen	Deft	

The deft 1′: difault;

The plt demands of ye deft by his declarat. 713 gilders wth Costs.

The Court continued this action untill next Courtday;

Thomas Wright by John Champion his attorn	Plt	partees agreed before tryall the deft to pay Costs.
Dunk Williams	Deft	

John Champion	Plt	partees agreed
Elizabeth Dalbo	Deft	

Upon ye Peticon of Richard Noble the Court doe grant ye Peticonr to take up wthin ye Jurisdiction of this Court twoo hundered acres of Land wch heretofore hath not ben Granted or taken up by others, hee makeing Improovement according to Law & orders.

Upon ye Peticon of Eph: Herman Laurens Cock and Peter Van Brug The Cort doe Grant Each of them a Grant for to take up twenty five acres of marsh or meddow ground to their Land Granted them att Taorackan by ye governor, ye sd marsh Lying in ye mill Creek opposit Burlington, & towards ye head thereof;[1]

The Cort did Grant unto the severall persons hereunder named, ye following percell of Land, wch should not bee

[1] See note E at end of Record.

march ye 8th $16\frac{80}{81}$
granted or taken up before and upon Expresse Condition of Settlemt: as by Lawe & orders.

Oele Dalbo a grant for 300 acr:
ariaen aertsen a grant for 200 acr:
Will Jeacox a grant for 200 acres.
Jan Boelsen a grant for 100 acr:
Dunk Williams a grant for 100 acr:
Will Boull blaksmith a grant for 150 acr:

The Cort being in want of monnyes for ye defraying of ye publicq Charges of their sitting, and there being severall amerciaments due unto Them from Sundry Persons for Grants & orders Given, etc: Itt was this day Resolved & ordered that ye Clr: should draw out an Exact List of all such prsons, and deliver itt to ye high Sherrife, whoe is hereby ordered to Colect ye same as alsoe ye fynes of 200 gilds: due from moens Staeckett; and to bee accomptable att ye next Court; wth: further power that In case any should refuse ye payment of ye sd: Just Court fees that in such a Case hee should use ye: uttmost Extreamity by ye: Lawe allowed, etc:

The Cort: adjorned till ye: 2d: Teusday in June next.

June 14th 1681

Att a Court held att Kingsesse for Upland County in Delowar River by his mayties authority June 14th 1681;

Prsent — Mr Otto Ernest Coch, Mr Israel helm, Mr Laurens Cock } Justices

Captn Edm: Cantwell high Sherrife

Justice Laurens Cock Plt
Justa Justassen Deft } the deft 2d default

The Cort Continued this action till next Cort day;

Andries Boen Plt
moens Peter Stacket Deft } the deft returned non Est Inventus

Arnoldus De Lagrange Plt
Just: Otto Ernest Cock Deft

This action referred till next Court by reason that there's noe Court wthout Justice otto whoe is a party.

Justice Henry Jones & Justice George Browne were boath fyned for not attending ye Court to suply their places Each 10 pounds according to ye Law booke.

Hanna Salter Plt
andries homman Deft

The Plt not appearing was nonsuited wth Costs;

William Boyles acquaints ye Cort that one Robberd michill next heir of Robberd hoskins deceased, is att prsent alyve in England, and that hee ye sd will Boyles is by him ye sd Rob: michill desiered to take Care of ye Estate of ye sd deceased hoskins wthin this Country;

June 14th 1681

Upon Complaint of Christiaen Claassen; ordered that william Baale Give sattisfact: to Cristiaen for what Land hee had Cleared and all further Improovemt: in Equity

Claes Jansen brings in ye Eare marke for his Cattle & hoggs & desires that ye same may bee recorded; Granted & is as followeth vizt: the foremost syde of yeEars halfe cutt away;

Justice George Browne appeared and sate in Cort being hindered to come sooner for want of a passage over ye Creeke;

Lasse Dalboo Plt:
Swen Lom Deft

Jurys names
James Sanderlins Will Boyles
John Boeyar harmen Ennis
will: orian andries peterss:
& oele raesen

The Plt: declares agst: ye deft: for a peece of Land Lying in ye Schuylkill etc. The deft: replyes that hee has had ye first grant & survey & paid quit rent.

The Plt craues a Jury wch: was Granted and ye Jury Impannelled & sworne & ye: Case before them debated, they went out and returning brought in their verdict as followed vizt: wee find for the deft: the Cort: doe passe Judgemt: according to verdict;

Justice Otto Ernest Coch acquaints the Court, that hee has bought and paid of ye: Indian proprietors a certaine swampy or marshy Island called by ye Indians quist-

June 14th 1681

conck[1] Lying att the upper End of Tinnachkonck Island in ye river opposit andrews Boones Creeke; and desires ye Co^{rts} approbation. The Co^{rt} haueing well Informed themselves about ye p^{r}misses, doe allow thereof.

Upon ye Peticon of magist^{r} Jacobus fabritius; ordered that ye Church wardens of ye Peticon^{rs} Church doe take care that Every one of those as haue Signed & promissed towards his maintaynance, doe pay him ye sumes promissed, upon payne of Execution agst ye: deffective;[2]

[1] This appears to have been the present *Hog Island*, and to which Lindstrom (MS. Map), assigns the more dignified name of "Keyser Eyland, Ile des Empereurs."

[2] Jacobus Fabritius was a Lutheran Pastor, and by the consent of Gov. Lovelace, came to New York in 1669, upon the invitation of that denomination. He was soon involved in a difficulty from an attempt, at Albany, to impose a fine on Helmar Otten, who had married in opposition to the views of Fabritius, but in accordance, it is alleged, with the law, and also with the sanction of the magistrates. For this he was suspended, by Lovelace, from the exercise of his functions at Albany, although he was allowed to preach in New York. In 1670 he came to New Castle furnished with a recommendation from Lovelace to Deputy Gov. Carr. His difficulties, however, were not at an end, and in 1675 he was suspended from the ministry. Afterwards he removed to the Delaware, having accepted an invitation from the Swedish congregation at Wicaco, to become their minister, and in the Block House, which had been built at that place for a defence against the Indians, and was now for the first time occupied as a house of worship, he preached, in the Dutch language, his first sermon on Trinity Sunday, 1677. He remained with them 14 years, the last nine of which he was blind, and died about the year 1693. His life was not peaceful, and his difficulties were probably the result of too obstinate an adherence to opinions, when a timely concession, without a sacrifice of principle, would have, in all likelihood, led to the accomplishment of more good in his office. The celebrated John Kelpius, "The Hermit of the Ridge," had been, previously to coming here, in 1694, a student of Fabritius at Helmstadt (Hazard's Ann., 373, 381, 420, 438. Clay's Ann., 39. Hazard's Reg., i., 281. Col. Records, i., 348).

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ANDRIES PETERSEN Plt

JONAS NEALSON Deft

The deft alleadging that hee was not tymely arrested; The Case is referred til next Court;

Upon Complaint made by ye overseers of ye highways; The Court haue and doe hereby Condemne John Champion to pay a fyne of twenty and fyve Gilders, for his not worke-ing upon ye highway when due warning was Given him;

Upon ye Request of william warner[1] & william orian; ordered that ye severall people that hold Lands; of that

[1] William Warner the elder, the progenitor of numerous descendants of the same name, settled, according to Mr. Watson, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, and at the place referred to in the text, as early as the year 1658, and the Annalist remarks, "what an isolated existence in the midst of savage beasts and men, must such a family have then experienced" (Annals i., p. 11). Mr. Hazard, however, "after diligent enquiry among the descendants of Warner now living, can find no knowledge or tradition of the fact." . . . (Ann., 455.) It is possible that the researches of Mr. Hazard were, in this case, prosecuted at a period too late to elicit information. Upon the authority of a statement made in 1833 by Mrs. Ann Warner, who died in 1843, aged 80 years, and who was the widow of William, a great grandson of the original settler, it appears that the latter having been a Captain in Cromwell's army, left England upon the death of the Protector in 1658. Unless the seclusion which Warner may have sought shielded his movements from observation, it is difficult to reconcile the fact of his occupation at a period so early, with the entire absence, of any allusion to the circumstance in contemporary statements, so far as we can learn, and this in view of the jealousy of the Dutch and Swedes towards the attempts of any other people to establish themselves among them The date of his leaving England may have been erroneously set down as that of his arrival here. He however arrived at an early period, and as he was from "*Blockley*," Worcestershire, the name he conferred upon his plantation was afterwards given to the township. William, a grandson of the pioneer, was made "Baron" of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, founded in 1732 — a title which was given to him from the circumstance of his having been the owner of the estate upon which the "Colonial Hall" of

June 14th 1681

wch ye peticonrs bought of ye Indians Lying in ye Schuylkill Every one to repay to ye peticonr proportionable to ye: quantity of Land they hold there—the whole purchaze wch ye peticonrs paid being 335 gilders; and ye following prsons holding Lands wthin that Limit, vizt andries Inckoren 200 acres andries homman 200 acres Pelle Laersen (als) Put pelle 100 acres, Peter Erikson 200 acres will: warner 100 acres will: orian 100 acres John Booles & John Schoeten 400 acres Swen Lom 300 acres of Land. Each of ye: abovesd prsons to pay proportionable to ye quantity of Land they hold as abovesd

Upon ye request of Peter Jocum ordered that Peter rambo Cause his marsh Land according to pattent to bee surveyed to ye End sd Peter Jocum may know what is Left to him;

Benck Salung sworne in Cort sayeth that hendrik Colman tould him that hee heard moens Staecket say that all the Court were Rogues;

The Cort ordered that Execution should bee Granted to ye Sherrife; upon ye Cortss amerciaments due according to ye List drawne out, & alreddy in ye sd Sherrifs hands for ye Collecting of ye sd amerciaments according to Lawe.

Upon ye severall peticons of the afternamed persons, The Cort Granted unto Each of them ye quantitys of Land hereunder Exprest, to take up they ye Peticonrs seating and Improoveing ye same according to Lawe and regulacons;

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the Company was built; and Isaac, the son of the latter, was afterwards chosen "Chief Warden of the Castle and its Dependencies" of this ancient institution, which still flourishes in unabated vigor (Article "*Blockley*," Rees's Encyclop., Hist. Mem. of Schuylkill Fishing Co., Phil., 1830, pp. 13, 40. Exemplication Bk No. 1, Pattent Bk 4. Deed Bk R. L. L. No. 47, p. 265, Phil.).

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Granted unto Reynier Petersen to take up 200 acres
Andries Boon 200
Will: Warner Senior 400
Rich: Tucker 100 acres
Otto Ernest Coch 400 acres
Lynall Brittall[1] 200 acres
Jan Claassen 200 acres

Upon an Information of will: Coyles[2] ye Constable att ye faals agst Gilbert wheeler att ye sd faals, for selling of strong Licquors by retayle to ye Indians Contrary to ye Lawe & ye forwarning of ye sd Constable, wch sd Information was Lykewyse by Justice Geo: Browne auerred to bee truth; The Cort haue and doe hereby Condemne ye sd Gilbert wheeler to pay as a fyne ye sume of fower pound; for his sd trespasse, according to ye Expresse Lawe of ye Governmt togeather ye Costs (als) Execution.

The Crt haue this day authorized and appointed William Boyles[2] to bee surv & overseer of ye highwayes from the faales to Poetquessink Creek; hee to take care that ye sd highwayes bee made good & passable, wth bridges over all myry & dirty places; betweene this & ye next Cort and all ye Inhabitants Living wthin ye Compasse abovesd to bee reddy to doe & compleat ye sd way upon due warning given by ye sd overseer; the unwilling to bee fyned according to former order & practize;

The Cort adjorned till ye 2d Teusday of ye month of Septembr next.

[1] Probably intended for "*Lionel Brittain of Alney, in the Co. Bucks*" England, who arrived here 4th mo., 1680 (Register of Arrivals, Bucks Co., *Doylestown*).

[2] Biles.

Copia By the Commander and Councill

Whereas his mayᵗⁱᵉ hath ben Graciously pleased by Letters Pattents bearing date ye 4ᵗʰ day of march Laest to Give and Grant to Will: Penn Esqr: all ye tract of Land in america now called by ye name of Pensilvania formerly under ye Protection and Governmᵗ to his Royˡˡ highnesse, as ye same is bounded on ye East by Delowar River from twelue miles distance northwards of New Castle Toune unto ye: three and forthieth degrees of northerne Lattitude if ye sᵈ River doth extend so farr northward then by ye said River so farr as itt doth Extend and from the head of ye sᵈ River ye Eastern bounds to bee determined by a meridian Lyne to bee drawne from ye head of ye sᵈ river unto ye sᵈ three and forthieth degree ye same to Extend westward five degress in Longitude to bee computed from ye sᵈ Eastern bounds, and to bee bounded on ye north by ye beginning of ye three and forthiet degree of northern Lattitude & on ye South by a Circle drawn att twelve miles distance from New Castle northwards and westwards unto ye beginning of ye forthieth degree of northern Lattitude and then by a straight Lyne westwards to ye Limit of Longitude aforementioned wᵗʰ all powers preheminencies & Jurisdictions necessary for ye governmᵗ of a province as by ye sᵈ Letters Pattents doth at Large apear, wᶜʰ wᵗʰ his mayᵗⁱᵉˢ Gracious Letter Directed to ye Inhabitants and Planters wᵗʰin ye sᵈ Limits and a commission from ye sᵈ Will: Penn to ye bearer hereof Will: Marckham Esqʳ to bee his Deputy Governoʳ of ye sᵈ Province, haue ben produced and shewn to us and are Enterred upon Record in ye office of Records for this province, and by us highly

approoved of as his may^{ties} Roy^{ll} will and plasure Therefore thougt fitt to Intimate ye same to you to prevent any doubt or trouble that might arize and to give you o^{r} thankes for yo^{r} good Services done in yo^{r} severall offices and stations during ye tyme you remained under his Roy^{ll} highnesse Governm^{t} Expecting noe further account then that you readdily submit and yeeld all due obedience to ye s^{d} Lett^{rs} Pattents according to ye true Intent and meaning thereof in ye p^{r}formance and Injoyment of w^{ch} wee wiesh you all happinesse

New Yorke 21st June 1681.

To ye severall Justices of ye peace magistraets and other officers Inhabiting wthin ye bounds and Limits abovementioned now called Pensilvania

(signed) ANTHONY BROCKHOLLS

By ord^{r} in Councill etc
(Signed) JOHN WEST
Cl^{r} Counc:

NOTES.[1]

NOTE A.

(Page 80.) The district of "*Tacony*" appears to have embraced all the territory on the Delaware, to the east of "*Carkoens Hook*" district, as far as the settlements extended along the river; but I am unable to ascertain the dividing-line between them.

"*Carkoens Hook*," or, as it is elsewhere called, "*Carkes Hook*," included all the land between the east side of Cobbs and Darby creeks, respectively, and the western boundary of the Tacony district. It seems to have been afterwards enlarged by the addition of a strip of three-quarters of a mile in width, immediately to the west of Darby Creek at its junction with Cobb's. Carkoen was a corruption of the Indian name, "*Kackaricon*," as applied to this region; and "Mohorhoottink" was one of the Indian names of Darby Creek.

"*Calkoens Hook*."—The territory immediately to the west of Carkoens, and which originally had for its eastern boundary Cobb's Creek, was, according to Acrelius (234), so called from the Swedish word "*Kalkon*," a turkey, "Wilda kalkoen," "wild turkeys," having "very much abounded in that vicinity." The western limit of Calkoen appears to have been Crum Creek.

"*Upland*" had for its western boundary Marcus or Chichester Creek, and for its eastern probably Crum Creek; and "*Marretties*" or "*Marcus Hook*" comprehended the land between Chichester and Naamans creeks. Roggeveen, in his "*Pascerte van Nieu Nederland*," &c., Amstersdam, 1675, (16 by 20 inches,) designates the entire region about and beyond Upland,

[1] The Editor is under obligations to Doct. E. B. O'Callaghan, of Albany, and to Messrs. John M. Broomall and Rev. Daniel Kendig, of Chester, Thomas J. Rehrer, of Harrisburg, Samuel E. Thomson of New Castle, William C. Lodge, of Claymont, Del., J. Smith Futhey, Thomas S. Taylor, and A. M. Ayars, of West Chester, Doct. E. D. Buckman, of Fountain Farm, near Bustleton, Aubrey H. Smith, John F. Watson, Algernon S. Roberts, Louis Gustave and Professor Joseph Carson, of Philadelphia, and to the other gentlemen, who have kindly aided his inquiries.

and extending from Fort Christina to Matinnecongh (Tinicum) Island, as "*Laplandt*," in which, however, he is unsustained by any of the eleven compilers of maps who preceded him. (Penn. Archives, i. 28; Holmes' Map of Province; Map of "Boon's Forest," *ante*, p. 65; Minutes, 1681, p. 190, W. Chester; Asher's Bibliog. and Hist. Essay.)

The position of Amasland, or Amesland, is ascertained from draft No. 61, Surveyor General's Office, Harrisburg. This tract, which was included within the limits of Calkoen Hook, was about a mile and three-quarters long, and one wide. Its northern boundary was formed by a bend in the *Mackinipattus*, made by that stream just before the latter reached Darby Creek; and it was bounded by these creeks on the north and east, and contained about 1000 acres.

(Page 119.) I am not aware that any record, of a date earlier than that in the text, exists of an adjustment of the division-line between the counties of New Castle and Upland. "Oele Fransen's," or "Steen or Stony" Creek, ran through a tract of 1000 acres, granted by the Duke of York, in two patents, of 1673 and 1676, respectively, to Oele Fransen and company. (Walter Wharton's Surveys, Land Office, Harrisburg.) Known no longer, except by tradition, as Stony Creek, it is now known as Quarryville Creek, crossing the Philada., Wil. & Balt. R.R. at the distance, according to the government survey, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles below the mouth of Naaman's Creek. (Book of Surveys; Deed-Bk. B, 1, 15, 77, N. Castle; N. Y. Patents, Office Secy. State, Albany, Breviat. 44; H. G. Heald's M. S. Survey, 1822.)

"*Verdrietige Hoeck*," or *corner* of land, also called Trinity Hook, lay between Shellpot[1] and Stony Creeks. It contained about 800 acres, and was granted in two patents, of 1663 and 1664; afterwards confirmed by Nicholls, in 1667, to Johan Hendricks and others. (New York Patents, ii. 283, Office Secy. State, Albany, Breviat. 38.) It ran for about the distance of $1\frac{3}{5}$ miles along the Delaware, and terminated on the north at "Stone Point." The creek which empties into the river at Dupont's landing, and which at present has no name, ran through about the centre of the tract; and, at the point where the railroad crosses, is 4500 yards in a direct line from the Brandywine Light House. Verdrietige, a title which has ceased to be applied for about a century, was derived from the Dutch "*verdrietigh*," signifying "*grievous*," or "*tedious*," owing to the character of the navigation in approaching that point. (Book of Surveys, N. Castle.)

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[1] Vulgarly so called — a corruption of "*Skilldpadde*," the Swedish for "turtle."

"*Single Tree Point*" is now "*Oldman's Point*," on the N. Jersey shore, one mile below the mouth of Oldman's Creek. It was also called "*Een boom*," the Dutch for *single tree*, and by the Indians "*Emaïjens*." (Penn Arch. i. 34.)

Stony Creek remained the division-line until the King's Charter fixed the boundary of the Province "on the south by a circle drawn at the distance of 12 miles from New Castle northward and westward * *"; accordingly, we find that the Court at Upland or Chester, on 14th March, 1681, recognized Naaman's Creek as the boundary line, and so does Holmes in his Map; and Penn afterwards declared his intention, but which was never carried out, of enlarging the County to the Brandywine. The matter was subsequently discussed in the Council; when, on 9th Aug., 1693, it was, "after full debate" by that body, resolved, that for the "present convenience," and "not for an absolute and finall proprietarie division, and that the inhabitants might know to which of the two counties to pay their levies, that the bounds of New Castle Countie shall extend northward to the mouth of Naaman's Creek, and upwards along the southwest side of the northernmost branch." (Col. Rec. i. 349, and id. pp. 72, 74, 76, 220, 222, 224, 340.) This was but an approximation to correctness, and the line was still unsettled. A disagreement had arisen between the Territories and the Province; a separation was imminent, and it was of importance to adjust the boundary; and, on the 20th, 7th mo., 1701, the Assembly, among other requests preferred, petitioned Penn, "that the division Lines between the County of New Castle and Chester be ascertained, allowing the bounds according to the Proptr's Letters Patent from the King"; to which the Governor replied, "It is my own inclination, and I desire the Representatives of New Castle and Chester forthwith, or before they leave the Town, to attend me about the time and method of Doing it." (Col. Rec. ii. 39, 43.) In pursuance of this conference a warrant, dated 28th, 8th month, 1701, was issued by the Governor, directed to Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson, authorizing them to accompany the magistrates of the counties of New Castle and Chester, and "to admeasure and survey from the town of New Castle the distance of 12 miles in a Right line up ye sd River, and from ye sd distance according to ye King's Letters Pattent and Deeds of Enfeoffment from the Duke, and ye sd circular Line to be well marked two-third parts of ye semi-circle." The survey was commenced 26th, 9th mo., 1701, and finished 4th, 10th mo., 1701. The "end of the Horse Dyke" in New Castle was established as the beginning of the line, "and they came to the Delaware on ye upper side of Nathaniel Lamply's old Hous at Chichester, running two-third

parts of the semi-circle." The trees along the line were marked by them with three notches.

The above facts were obtained from a copy of a MS. draft in the Philadelphia Library, and the survey is recorded in the Book of Surveys, N. Castle, p. 99, No. 16.

This survey, so far as I can discover, has been noticed but by one writer, Mr. Veech, and that incidentally; and is but vaguely referred to in the "*Breviate*," "*Penn vs. Ld. Baltimore*," that rare source of information on the earlier history of the controversy. The history of the question has been ably, and more or less fully, treated in the Report of Col. James D. Graham, U. S. A., Senate Journ. Penna., 1850, ii. 475; Hist. of Mason and Dixon's Line, by J. H. B. Latrobe; Mason and Dixon's Line, by James Veech.

NOTE B.

(Page 121.) This curious passage, and another referring to Lloyd's purchase, presently mentioned, would seem, with the exception of the ownership of the Society of Friends, to be all that remains to indicate the existence of any ecclesiastical rights at Chester prior to 1702, the year in which the Episcopal church was established at that place. In 1699 (I. Colonial Records, p. 557) David Lloyd represented to the Provincial Council that he had purchased a piece of land at Chester, called "*The Green*," fronting on the creek and river; upon which having laid out streets and a market-place, according to a map and plan made by the Surveyor General, he asked for a confirmation of the same. Mr. Jasper Yeates resisted the application, on the ground that it was *church* land, "appropriated by donation to that use for ever;" that it "was from them Lloyd derived his pretended title," and asked that persons might be heard "on behalf of the Church."

The deeds for the property here referred to are in possession of Doct. J. D. Logan, and the premises were conveyed by David Lloyd to Jasper Yeates, by deed of 22d Sept., 1703, recorded at Chester in Deed-Book H, No. 10, p. 180 — endorsed, "For the Green before Jasper Yeates' door."

The deed recites that the land was formerly granted by warrant from William Penn, 31st March, 1684, and laid out by the Surveyor-General, 11th Oct., 1684, for the use of the Swedes' minister, and afterwards confirmed by patent from the Commissioners, 23d May, 1690, unto Swan Swanson, Andrew Bankson, Lasse Cock, Casper Fish, and Peter Rambo, "the *Church-Wardens* of the Swedes' Congregation, for the use of the

minister then present or to come;" and that the said patentees, by order and consent of the Swedes' Congregation of Wicaco and Crane Hook, on 29th Dec., 1693, conveyed the premises to David Lloyd. The objection to the title was removed by a release from Penn of 24th Oct., 1701, Pat. Bk. A, 223. The "Green" extended along the river from Chester Creek nearly to Welsh street; but the map of the market-place is not to be found at Harrisburg, and the street, called New street, which ran parallel with the Delaware, has been long since washed away.

Although the position of the lots mentioned in the text is not given, I am not aware of any reason for supposing that the premises were identical with those conveyed by Swanson and others to Lloyd, but think there are reasons which may warrant the inference that they belonged to an early Episcopal organization at Chester. So far as it related to that church in New York, it does not appear that it was founded earlier than 1693, and here until a later period; but the existence of an enactment in the "Duke's Laws" concerning "The Publique worship of God," which in 1677 was in force as well here as in New York, seems to have been overlooked by writers.

This law directed that a church should be built in each parish, of a size to accommodate 200 persons; that, for the purpose of making and proportioning levies for the building of churches, providing for the poor and maintenance of ministers, "eight of the most able men" should be chosen by the major part of the householders, by whom two should be chosen yearly out of their number to be church-wardens. Any minister was permitted to officiate upon producing testimonials to the Governor that he had received ordination from some protestant bishop or minister within some part of his majesty's dominions or the dominions of any foreign prince of the reformed religion. "That the minister shall preach every Sunday, and pray for the King, Queen, Duke of York, and Royale family," &c. Freedom of religious worship was conceded in the following terms: "nor shall any person be molested, fined, or imprisoned, for differing in Judgment in matters of religion, who profess Christianity." (Green Book, vol. xx. p. 1, Land Office, Harrisburg; Arnold's Hist. of Col. Church, ii. 661, 662, iii. 372; Humphrey's Historical Account, Lond., 1730, 151; Minutes of St. Paul's, Chester.)

That prior to the date in the text, the only town north of New Castle should not have had some means of religious worship, seems hardly probable. In view of the fact that, notwithstanding the comparatively copious information on the subject of the Swedish churches, there is no allusion to the existence at any period of a Swedish congregation at Upland—in view, also, of the directions of the law just quoted, the liberal aid afforded in the

establishment of St. Paul's church, the early strength and great success of that congregation,—I reiterate the opinion, that a prior Episcopal ownership existed in the "glebe land" referred to in the text; although the church may have been feeble, and have almost ceased to exist at the period of the establishment of St. Paul's upon a prosperous basis.

NOTE C.

(Page 137.) The "*House of Defence,*" or Block-House, which Jurgin had been directed "to fitt up and furnish fitt for the Court to sit in" (*ante*, 78), was built upon the land of Neales Laersen. We are able to fix its position and probable size by the description in a deed from Lydia, the daughter of Robert Wade, to Robt. Danger, 10th Oct., 1697 (Deed-Bk. A, 270, W. Chester). It stood on the east side of, and at an angle to, the present Front street, which was laid out after its erection, and the eastern line of which street ran through the centre of the building, from its S. E. to its N. W. corner. If it was rectangular in shape, its size was 14 by 15 feet; and, according to measurement, its S. E. corner stood about 84 feet from the N. E. corner of Front and Filbert. The northern portion of the house of Mrs. Sarah P. Coombe occupies about eleven feet of the south end of the site of the House of Defence.

What appears to have been the second Court House stood nearly opposite to the House of Defence, at the distance of 259 ft. 6 inches from the S. W. corner of Front and James sts. It was built in 1695, upon a lot, the title of which was conveyed to the county by John Hoskins (Deed-Bk. A, 190, W. Chester), and its lower floor was used as a prison. A portion of its old wall is yet to be seen, having been preserved in the erection of the northern gable of the building occupying the site. The Old Assembly-Building, now taken down, stood to the north of it, and its south end was about the distance of 230 ft. 6 inches south of the S. W. corner of Front and James streets. It was at one time occupied by the Friends as a Meeting-House, and Penn had often preached in it. (Col. Rec. i. 402, 441; Minutes of Court, Deed-Bk. A, 29, 265, 280, E 5, 442, W. Chester; Deed-Bk. C, 571, Media; Statement of Samuel Lytle, Æ. 85.)

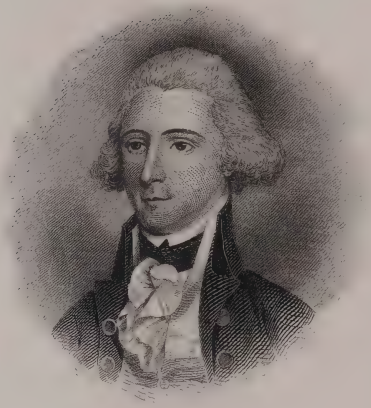
NOTE D.

(Page 178.) "*Kreupel-gras*" is defined to be "*Knott-grasse*" — Hexham's Dutch & Eng. Dict. 1647 — and it is not improbable that the resemblance which the Dutch colonists saw between the kreupel-grass of Holland, and grass which grew here, led them to designate as a "Cripple" the place where it flourished.

This application of the word Cripple to a place, seems to be unknown in England, and in this country was not known to Webster and others who have compiled dictionaries. It is in common use in the region bordering on the Delaware river.

NOTE E.

(Page 185.) An examination of the records affords no other proof, than that presented in the text, of the grant to the parties named. "*Hataorackan,*" so variously spelt in the original, may be a corruption of the proper Indian title "*Hackazockan,*" which is the nearest approach to it of any of the numerous Indian names set down by Lindstrom (MS. Map), and by which he designates the region which was afterwards known as Pennsbury Manor. As the tract was in the vicinity of the present Bristol, and the two extreme points of the Survey are given, I find that the general bearing thus obtained, as well as the direction of the Hataorackan Creek, correspond pretty accurately with the Coast Survey, as the course of *Scott's Creek*—which ran through the Manor—and the shore between that stream and Newbold's Island, are there laid down. With no other portion of the river will the bearings of the Survey so well accord. The fact that the grant was made but a few months before the Duke's possession ceased, and perhaps remained unseated, may account for the absence of any further allusion to it in the records, and for its probable absorption into the manor of Pennsbury.



Your faithful
Denny

MILITARY JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY,

An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR,

BY WILLIAM H. DENNY.



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MIRROR OF ANCIENT FAITH!
UNDAUNTED WORTH! INVIOLABLE TRUTH!
Dryden's Æneid.

MEMOIR.

EBENEZER DENNY was born in Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on the 11th of March, 1761. He was the eldest child of William Denny and Agnes Parker. William, and his brother Walter, came to Cumberland from Chester County, in 1745. Walter Denny settled two or three miles south of Carlisle, where he owned a large tract of land, now divided into five farms. He raised a company for the Revolutionary struggle, was killed at the battle of the Crooked Billet; and his son taken, and kept three months on board a Jersey prison-ship. David Denny, for many years pastor of the Presbyterian church at Chambersburg, was a son of Walter. William lived in Carlisle. He was the first Coroner west of the Susquehanna, and a Commissary in the war.

The mother of Ebenezer Denny, Agnes, was the daughter of John Parker, and grand-daughter of Richard Parker. Richard, as early as 1730, acquired lands on the Cannadaguinnet, three miles west of Carlisle. These lands continued for two or three generations afterward in possession of his descendants. It was there that his

grandsons, in the intervals of their military service, turned their swords into plowshares. All three—Alexander, Richard and Andrew—were actively engaged in the war. Alexander furnished two teams, at his own expense, when the army was at the White Plains. He was commissioned in Colonel Irvine's regiment, Second Lieutenant in Company No. 1, Captain Hay, January 9th, 1776. Marched in April following, from Carlisle to New York and Canada—promoted a First Lieutenant in Company No. 4, Captain Rippey, June 9th, 1776, and Captain, 31st July, 1777, in Colonel Irvine's regiment. In the first campaign against Quebec, he and his cousin, John Parker, who was one of his sergeants, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoners. At the close of the Revolutionary War, whilst Richard and Andrew emigrated to Kentucky, Alexander Parker settled in Western Virginia, on lands which he acquired by settlement and purchase, at the mouth of the Little Kanahwa, on which is now the town of Parkersburg. His only surviving child, Mary, whilst on a visit to her relative in Pittsburgh, was married to William Robinson, Jr., of Allegheny. On that occasion her cousin from Kentucky, a grandchild of Richard Parker, afterward Mrs. T. Crittenden, was her bridesmaid.

Agnes, the mother of Ebenezer Denny, was an uncommon woman, of great energy and intelligence. She was of middle height, fair complexion, blue eyes, bright sandy hair; beautiful in her younger days, attractive at all times, and prepossessing in her old age. Her numerous friends and relatives approached her always with

confidence in her affection, her sympathy, her good temper and sound judgment. A devout Christian—with her Bible, in every sense, by heart. She never failed to ascribe the many deliverances of her son Ebenezer, to a particular providence—as other pious persons did to the prayers of herself, his good mother.

Her father left his large estate to his sons; as was the custom in those days. Agnes inherited nothing. Her husband, a highminded and gentlemanly man, fell away in his habits and circumstances. Ebenezer, therefore, felt that he ought to endeavor to assist them, as well as to support himself. At the age of thirteen, he obtained employment as a bearer of dispatches to the commandant at Fort Pitt. He crossed the Allegheny mountains alone, lying out in the woods with any party of pack-horsemen whom he overtook at nightfall. His friend in after years, Samuel Murphy, of "Murphy's Bend," on his first visit from Bullskins to Fort Pitt in 1774, met him at Turtle Creek, on his return from the fort: "a slender, fair, blue-eyed, red-haired boy, two or three years younger than himself, between eleven and thirteen years old." Murphy expressed, at the time, his surprise that the public authorities would intrust a mere lad to carry important dispatches through a wilderness infested with savage enemies. Twenty years afterward, Murphy was a lieutenant in a military expedition to Presqu' Isle, commanded by the person who was that night at Turtle Creek his camp-mate and bed-fellow. Once during that expedition, whilst suppressing a mutiny, and again, when returning, he fell out of his perogue, the

life of the commander was saved by that brave and athletic soldier. "When I met him at Turtle Creek," said Murphy, "he must have been on his return from the fort. I know him too well to suppose that he would have disclosed to me the nature of his business, until after it was executed." On two of these missions to Fort Pitt, at the Loyalhanna and at Turkey-foot, he was chased into Fort Loudon by the Indians.

He was afterward employed in his father's store in Carlisle. Fresh from his bridle path on Chestnut Ridge and Laurel Hill, and familiar with its danger, it was hardly to be expected that he would be content at home behind a counter, whilst his uncles, of whom he was justly proud, risked everything in the war.

A letter of marque and reprisal was about to sail to the West Indies. He repaired to Philadelphia and shipped as a volunteer. The captain intended to intercept a British merchantman, with a valuable cargo, bound from the Bahamas to Halifax. But entertaining a party of friends who accompanied him down the Delaware, was unable to command his ship when, outside the capes, the expected prize came in sight. He made amends for this disappointment afterward by a vigilant, daring and successful cruise. His ship became noted in the Gulf. On one occasion, off Martinique, he had a running fight with three armed British cruisers. In that chase and action, Ebenezer attracted the notice of the captain by his alacrity and intrepidity, as he had throughout the voyage by his modesty and fidelity. Observing that in every emergency he was not less brave than any of the

crew, whilst he was always reliable and trustworthy, the captain, on the voyage home, promoted him to the command of the quarter deck.

To overcome his scruples and aversion to what seemed so much like highway robbery, that even the love of adventure could not gloss it over, he was offered the privilege of supercargo, to induce him to embark again in another cruise. This tempting offer reached him in the family cabin at Carlisle, surrounded by his mother and sisters, whose affectionate endeavors to dissuade him from its acceptance only increased his desire to earn something for himself and them. He decided to go back to sea. He invested his share of the prize money in whisky and flour, and had crossed the Susquehanna with his wagon on his way to Philadelphia, when he received a commission of Ensign in the First Pennsylvania regiment. He gladly disposed of his produce at Harrisburg, and joined the army at Little York. This was shortly after the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line. In his military journal, which then commences, he describes the pain he felt at being obliged to witness the execution.

Then followed Wayne's forced marches into Virginia, and the first action of the Pennsylvania troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler, near Williamsburg, where they had a desperate encounter with Simcoe; the British partisan and his rangers being very much emboldened by their recent success at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers, at which point, with a detachment of yagers, infantry and hussars, they frightened the Baron Steuben into a night retreat of thirty

miles, and destroyed the greater part of his stores scattered along the river bank; although he was at the head of five hundred Virginia regulars, with some militia, separated from the enemy by deep water, and the boats all on his own side. This was Steuben's first and only separate command.

Soon after, Wayne, who also was credulous, but in the opposite way, attempted to surprise Cornwallis. He expected to find his army partly crossed over and divided by the James river. Our young ensign, the extent of whose marching of late had been the length of his quarter deck, frankly confesses that he could not keep up with his company. As they were coming into action, his captain and fellow townsman, falling behind and walking by his side, quietly said to him, "Now, Eb., for the honor of old Carlisle, do not disgrace yourself." Montgomery made this rallying appeal to the memory of their native place, supposing that his young townsman was going into his first action; probably not knowing that the youngster was fresh from the perils of the sea, and familiar with the smoke of gunpowder on the deck of a privateer. The boldness of their commander advanced them into a position of great danger, from which they were extricated only by still greater daring. Cornwallis, astonished at the hardihood of the attack, sent a regiment of infantry to meet him, and cautiously deployed his whole army to the right and left. The regiment of British infantry, in front of the American line, marched up in open order, with perfect regularity; Wayne reserving his fire until they were within a dis-

tance of seventy paces, when both lines enchanged shots for a few minutes. The hero of Stony Point was in full uniform—his horse prancing in front of the Pennsylvania infantry, his face glowing with pleasure. He seemed to Ensign Denny, who stood near him, to be amused with the loss of his plume, which was cut off by a ball on the first fire. Nearly all the field officers were dismounted.

A young officer, acting in the staff, whose pantaloons were rubbed by some bleeding horse, imagining himself wounded, fainted, and was carried off the field. Being very handsome, one of the few young men of fortune in the army who could afford to dress well, he was envied by his brother officers, who made the most of the accident to laugh him out of the service. Ensign Denny was the only officer in the company who was not wounded. The captain and lieutenant were disabled at the first fire. The troops retreated by companies. Montgomery's fell to the command of the ensign. They recrossed the swamp by the narrow causeway, in good order, but with such expedition, that he could again hardly keep up with the men. But "thanks to the veteran first sergeant, the most important officer," he remarked, "in a company, they were kept together."

The unexampled hardihood of Wayne, persisting to advance, and actually fighting after he must have been aware that the whole British army were at hand, perplexed Cornwallis, made him apprehend an ambuscade, and hesitate in his pursuit. Otherwise, Wayne and all his force would have been taken. The loss of the Americans in this battle, according to Mr.

Denny's account, was one hundred and eighteen killed wounded and prisoners, including ten officers.

Subsequently, at the siege of York, on the night of the 14th October, Ensign Denny was in the advance attack on the redoubts, in which the Pennsylvania troops distinguished themselves under the lead of Hamilton. In the ceremony of the surrender, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler, (afterward General Butler, killed at St. Clair's defeat,) in honor of his recent services and the signal part his regiment had taken in the capture of the redoubt, was appointed to plant the first American flag upon the British parapet.

Colonel Butler, who was a short heavy person, detailed for this service his youngest ensign, in his figure and stature a contrast to himself; probably partial to him, as coming from his own town, Carlisle. The young officer mounted the parapet, in the presence of the three armies, and was in the act of planting the flag-staff, when the Baron Steuben rode out of the lines, dismounted, took the flag, and planted it himself. The disappointed and mortified subaltern had nothing to do but submit. But not so his colonel, the hero who had avenged the Baron's flight from Simcoe. He, that night, sent the arrogant foreigner a message, as every one expected, and it took all the influence of Rochambeau and Washington to prevent a hostile meeting.

Perhaps there was some excuse for the Prussian martinet, in the fact, that a dispute on a point of military etiquette had arisen among the general staff at headquarters, in which Lafayette and Rochambeau took op-

posite sides; the Marquis contending that he should "take the flag," and the Count claiming the right for the Baron Steuben.

In no part of his diary or correspondence does he allude to the subject of two duels, in which he was concerned as second. One of these affairs grew out of some offense given to the surgeon of the regiment, by a brother officer. The aggressor, as was his custom, when he thought he had offended an officer of lower grade, was seen in camp next day without his epaulets, to show that he waived his rank, and was ready to give satisfaction. The surgeon, like many other surgeons in the Revolutionary army, was a brave man, and expert with the pistol; nevertheless, at the hostile meeting which followed, they exchanged shots without effect, very much to the surprise of the challenged party, who at first accused his friend of having loaded the pistols only with powder; but on being shown the trees directly behind them, freshly barked by the balls, recovered his good humor, and requested him to "prime and load." Lieutenant Denny, instead of doing so, assured his friend that he was in the wrong, and succeeded in reconciling the combatants before they left the field. They walked back to the camp, arm in arm, the officer congratulating himself that he had not killed his doctor.

It will be recollected that they were officers of the army—at a time when dueling was more than now the fashion—were on the soil of Virginia, where the custom was indigenous—and in the presence of our allies, the French chivalry.

Ensign Denny, as appears from his journal, was afterward with Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar, and the First Pennsylvania regiment, in the Carolinas—under the command of General St. Clair, and at Charleston, during its investment, and after its evacuation.

In the order book of Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, dated Philadelphia, August 27th, 1784, we find him arranged as ensign in Captain M'Curdy's company of infantry. From that time, throughout the campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair, and his own expedition to Presqu' Isle, his diary is a sufficient sketch of his life for that period. The Adjutant of Harmar and the Aid-de-camp of St. Clair, no one had better opportunities of obtaining authentic information.

When the United States Commissioners were at Fort Finney, waiting for the Shawanees to come in to the treaty, General Clark kept aloof from his colleagues. There appeared to be some jealousy and coolness between them. But to the young commandant, Lieutenant Denny, he was like a father. He invited him to pass his evenings at his tent; threw off his reserve, and talked about his own adventures. He told him that frequently, at night, when his soldiers lay upon their arms, he has crept, on all fours, to the neighboring lick, with only his tomahawk, for fear of alarming the Indians, watched for the deer to pass, and selecting a young one, killed it, and carried it back to the bivouac for the supper of his men. He was a stout, rather short, square man, with a high, broad forehead, sandy hair, blue eyes, and heavy, shaggy eye-brows. With his personal prowess, hardihood and capacity for

detail, there was always comprehensive wisdom in his plan and purpose. He raised his force and supplies promptly. He knew exactly, and therefore never overrated the dangers in the way. He marched quietly to his distant object and took it by surprise. There was no martial pageant, no ostentatious and pompous parade. He threaded the forest silently—or on his Chickasaw ponies galloped across the prairies, and gave the first notice of his presence to the savages by his flag supplanting that of their great allies. Hence that prestige, that renown amongst them which was of such value to carry on hostilities or dictate a peace. When he was present, the great warriors never noticed any other General.

The night on which his little party from Kentucky reached the Kaskaskia river at Menard's Gap, they saw on the opposite bank the Jesuits' seminary lighted up, and heard issuing from it the sounds of the violin. Clark, leaving his horses and most of his men on the eastern side, waded across at the warm ford. It was a ball given by the British officers to the French inhabitants. He placed one of his men quietly at each door, outside, with orders to let none pass. He himself, wrapped in his blanket capot, his arms folded, leaning against the door-cheek, looked in upon the dance. An Indian who lay on the floor of the entry, intently gazing at his features in the light reflected from the room, suddenly sprang to his feet and gave the war-whoop. The dancing ceased, the ladies screamed, and the Frenchmen rushed to the door. Clark, without moving from his position,

or changing his grave expression, desired them to go on with the dance. "The only difference is," said he, "you now dance under Virginia, instead of Great Britain." At day-light he and his mounted men were opposite to Fort Chartiers, on the crest of the bluff, and by marching along its profile so as to be seen from the fort, countermarching out of sight and again showing themselves in a continuous file, his force appeared so large that the much more numerous enemy capitulated without a shot.

The massacre of the Blue Licks recalled him to Kentucky. He described to Lieutenant Denny the panic in the settlements, in the face of which he beat up for volunteers; and what no other man could have done, he promptly raised a party and hung on the bloody flanks of the enemy. His masterly march on the Wabash and capture of Post St. Vincent, he related somewhat different from, and without the flourish of history.

After his conquest of Illinois, he was voted a sword by the State of Virginia. The bearer of it met the grave and discontented hero on the bank of the Wabash. He was anxiously waiting for news that the House of Delegates had passed his accounts, and had voted money to pay them, to enable him to make good his engagements, on sudden emergencies, for supplies to his men. He was disappointed. He took the sword—drew it from its scabbard, and placing the point to the ground, thrust it deep in the soil he had conquered, and broke it off by the hilt. Throwing away the glittering handle, he said, "I asked Virginia for bread, and she sent me a sword!"

During the campaign of 1790, and at the battle of the

Maumee towns, the Journal and letters of Major Denny, who was in fact the acting Adjutant-General of the army, state so fully every military occurrence, and his deposition before the court of inquiry, on the conduct of the commander, is so clear a summary, that it is only necessary to refer to them.

The reader will see that there runs through the whole a vein of loyal attachment to the gallant and accomplished Harmar, which has the ring and lustre of the pure metal, and does honor to them both.

On the 14th December, 1790, President Washington communicated to Congress a military dispatch from the Governor of the North-Western Territory, dated November 6th, in which General St. Clair says: "Mr. Denny, the gentleman who takes General Harmar's dispatches, I beg leave to mention to you in a particular manner; and if you will be pleased to do so to the President in his favor, you may be assured he will not disappoint any expectations that may be formed. He has every quality that I could wish a young man to possess, who meant to make the army his profession. There are, however, some other traits in his character as a man, that are not generally known, that would endear him. Out of the little pittance he receives, he has maintained two aged parents for a long time."[1]

In Brigadier-General Harmar's dispatch to the Secretary of War, dated November 4, 1790, after giving an account of the battle, he says: "The bearer, Lieutenant Denny, is my Adjutant. It will afford me great satisfac-

[1] American State Papers, vol. iv. on Indian Affairs, page 104.

tion to know that some mark of honor will be shown him. His long and faithful services merit it. There is a vast deal of business in this western country. If there is no impropriety in giving me an aid-de-camp, I wish him to be the person." At the foot of the General's letter he says: "N. B. My Adjutant is really and truly an officer."[1]

Major Denny's habitual reserve on the events of his military life, was by no means lessened on the subject of the melancholy scenes of the 4th of November, 1791. As he says in his Journal, he recurred to them with pain and reluctance.

The unfortunate commander himself, modest and dignified as he was, more frequently conversed on the subject, in his retirement at Chestnut Ridge. To his neighbor, still living, the venerable Alexander Johnston, he said that nothing had ever given him more concern than his having dispatched his aid-de-camp, Major Denny, whose worth, and the value of whose life, no one more appreciated, upon a most desperate mission, from which, on reflection, he had no hope of ever seeing him return alive. This was probably at the commencement of the attack on the 4th of November, when with Colonel Oldham he rode forward to the creek, where the Indians had driven in the militia, and vainly endeavoring to arrest their flight, that brave Kentuckian was shot by his side and fell from his horse, execrating the cowardice of his men.

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[1] Documents, Legislative and Executive, Congress United States, 1st to 3d Session of the 13th Congress.

In the confusion of the battle, when the officers were nearly all killed or wounded, John Morgan, the aid of the disabled Butler, rode up to Major Denny and asked for orders. His horse, covered with blood, rubbed his wounded face on the Major's pantaloons. This was not noticed at the time; and afterward General St. Clair observing the blood, said to his aid-de-camp, "Major, you are wounded." The latter dismounted, drew off his boot, but finding no wound, recollected Morgan's horse. The General smiled and said, "Don't you remember the Irish beauty?"—alluding to the young officer at the battle of James River, who perceiving his pantaloon stained in the same way, supposed himself wounded, and was carried off the field. This was told to the writer by his father, as an instance of General St. Clair's coolness and self-possession in the midst of the panic.

After General Butler had received his first wound, he continued to walk in front close along the line, with his coat off and his arm in a sling, encouraging the men, and retired only after receiving a second wound in the side. The Commander-in-chief sent Major Denny, with his compliments, to inquire how he was. He found him in the middle of the camp, in a sitting posture, supported by knapsacks — the rifle balls of the Indians, who now surrounded closely the whole camp, concentrated upon that point. One of the wounded General's servants and two of his horses were shot there. He seemed, however, to have no anxiety, and to the inquiry of the aid-de-camp, he answered that he felt well. Whilst making this reply, a young cadet from Virginia, who stood at his

side, was hit on the cap of the knee by a spent ball, and cried so loudly with the pain and alarm, that General Butler actually shook his wounded side with laughter. This satisfied Major Denny that the second wound was not mortal, that the General being very fleshy, the ball might not have penetrated a vital part. He always believed that he might have been brought away and his life saved. Probably his own aid-de-camp, Major John Morgan, may have offered to bring him off, as was his duty, and the wounded General declined, conscious that his weight and helplessness would only encumber his brave young friend for no use, and hinder him from saving himself.

It is among the traditions of the family at Carlisle, that as their relative rode in the rear of the retreating army, a woman caught his horse by its long tail, and held on, although threatened with hoof and sword. She was rewarded for her confidence in his generosity by being taken up behind, and carried in safety to Fort Jefferson.

The first intelligence of the disastrous termination of St. Clair's campaign was brought to Philadelphia by his aid-de-camp, who rode down Market street on the gallant little horse which had borne his tired rider night and day from Fort Pitt, and now reined up, bespattered with mud, at the President's mansion. General Washington had a party at dinner that evening. A servant came up stairs, and said that a young officer from the army had a letter for the President. The private secretary, Mr. Tobias Lear, was sent down to receive it.

The officer said that his orders were to give the dispatch to the President only, which being told to Washington, he came down to the ante-room and received it. He had not read more than a few lines, until he perceived its import, and broke out in expressions, which the young officer did not set down in his diary, but which Mr. Tobias Lear, the private secretary, recorded in his private journal, to be published at this late day, and cited in confirmation of the probable truth of the allegation, that Washington swore profanely at that traitor, Lee, in the battle of Monmouth.

In a most violent passion, says the secretary, he exclaimed, "Did I not in the last words I said to him, warn him against a *surprise?*" As if a *surprise* was the only thing to be feared, the only advantage needed by an enemy, brave by nature, and trained to war from childhood, to enable them to vanquish an equal number of undisciplined troops, raw from the jails of the cities, poorly equipped, hurried off, late in the season, to fight them, united in their forest home—and to be "surprised"—as indeed they were—only because the second in command, the officer of the day, would not permit the information, regularly had, that the enemy were near the camp in unusual numbers, "to go beyond his own tent." His bravery, his exertions during the day to redeem it from the consequences of his fault, and his fate, made some atonement.

But there was no excuse for the President attaching to the expedition an officer of his high rank and pretensions, without giving him the command-in-chief. There

was no excuse for his sending against the Indians, all united under Brant, a force not more numerous than them, and so irregular and mutinous that it took the best regiment to protect the convoys of provisions from the deserters.

After Major Denny's resignation and retirement to civil life, he married, on the first of July, 1793, Nancy Wilkins, also a native of Carlisle; the youngest daughter, by the first wife, of John Wilkins, Sr., formerly of that place, who was a captain of a volunteer company in the Revolution and at the battle of Brandywine. Before removing to Pittsburgh, Captain Wilkins resided for some time at Bedford, and represented Bedford county in the Convention of 1777, which formed the first Constitution of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Denny was the sister, by the same mother, of John Wilkins, Jr., a surgeon's mate in the Revolutionary army, afterward Quarter-master General; of Charles Wilkins, of Lexington, Kentucky; and of the Hon. William Wilkins, of Homewood.

In 1794, Ebenezer Denny was again commissioned a captain, and commanded the expedition to Le Bœuf, the ostensible object of which was to protect the commissioners in laying out a town at Presqu' Isle — but the real and important purpose, to prevent the Six Nations uniting with the Miami Indians against Wayne.

Major Denny, as instructed by Governor Mifflin, kept a journal, in which he entered minutely every occurrence on the expedition. In transcribing his original diary, he thought many of the details not worth preserving. But

it is believed that even the daily entries of the weather on French Creek, sixty years ago, are not without interest at present.

In the years 1795 and 1796, Major Denny resided with his young family at his farm and mill, about six miles from Pittsburgh, near the Monongahela, about half a mile from the river, where the road to M'Keesport crosses Street's Run. Whilst residing there he was taken up as a candidate for the State Legislature. His opponent was John B. C. Lucas, a native of France, only recently an emigrant from that country. The result shows the force at that time of party spirit. On one side was a native of the State, a Revolutionary officer, who but lately served with credit in three expeditions against the Indians; the last one of which he himself commanded. Many of the early settlers in the election district, and most of the influential men amongst them, had served under him. On the other hand, a foreigner, speaking the English language with difficulty — but a short time from Europe — his family not attempting to conciliate the prejudices of their puritanical neighbors — having himself the reputation of being an "avowed Atheist" — his wife "plowing on Sunday."

Lucas' farm was about half a mile lower down the Monongahela, on the brow of Coal Hill, the high bluff which flanks that river on the south side. They were near neighbors. On the morning of the election, Lucas, on his way to the polls, passing the mill, exchanged friendly salutations with his rival. "Your father," (I shall give Judge Lucas' own words,) "your father asked

me to wait until he got his horse; he supposed I was going to the election, and said he would go along. We rode together to the place in Mifflin township where the election was held. Arriving on the ground, the country people shook hands with him, inquired about his health and his family, but spoke not a word to me — no man spoke to Lucas — not one. Your father, being a modest man, said to me, 'Lucas, we have no business here; let us vote and go home.' We did so. On my return, Mrs. Lucas said, 'Well, Lucas, how goes on the election?' I replied, 'Oh! they are all for Major Denny. They greeted him in the kindest manner — no one spoke to Lucas.' She agreed with me that my chance was bad. However, next morning the return judges calling with us on their way to town, stated that I had a majority in the township — in fact I was elected. Next year, or year after, your father was a candidate for Commissioner of the county, and received nearly every vote — that not being then considered a party question." This was about three or four years after the meeting of the insurgents at Braddock's Field, to which convention no small delegation went from Mifflin township. The greater part of the voters had indeed been "Whisky Boys." "Your father," said Lucas, "was the 'family candidate' — the brother-in-law of General John Wilkins, the obnoxious Quarter-master who would not buy the illicit whisky." Calumnies circulated on the ground to the prejudice of Lucas were promptly and warmly contradicted by Major Denny, to whom a few confidently referred those who believed that he killed his son in a fit of passion, and that

his wife, during his absence in France, had "plowed on Sunday."

It was well known that Lucas, as well as Gallatin, was identified with the popular cause. No one knew better how to avail himself of rural political prejudices. At the same time neither he nor Gallatin were in favor of extreme measures. Mr. Gallatin, on his way to and from Pittsburgh, on the road home to New Geneva, was accustomed to stop and spend the night with Lucas. After the convention at Pittsburgh, he called as usual and remained all night. He had with him a fresh proof of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. He showed them to Lucas, and asked what he thought of them. "In my opinion," he replied, "they are too strong." "I think so too," said Gallatin; "it was not my fault that they are so."

The next year Major Denny being elected Commissioner of the county, returned to his residence in town. Lucas and he sold their farms — Lucas to go to the newly acquired territory of Louisiana as a Territorial Judge. The five thousand dollars which he got for his Monongahela farm, he laid out in a Spanish grant, then adjacent to St. Louis—now the finest part of that city—and worth nearly as many millions of dollars. Whilst sitting as a judge in the territorial court, there came on for trial a case in which his old neighbor, Ebenezer Denny, was plaintiff, and Alexander M'Nair defendant. M'Nair was one of the first settlers, was married to a lady who belonged to one of the most influential French families. He was well known, very popular, and was elected the

first Governor of the State of Missouri, beating General William Clark. On the other hand, Ebenezer Denny was a non-resident, not present at the trial, and personally unknown to the jurors. Seeing, therefore, such odds against him, Judge Lucas undertook to charge the jury, which he did in French and English: "When I lived," said he, "in Pennsylvania, I was the next neighbor to the plaintiff; we differed in politics—we were opposing candidates for office, but there never was a more honest man. It is impossible that he could set up any claim that was not just and true." The jury, without leaving the box, found a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount he claimed.

Although it appears from his correspondence, that he was an applicant for office at the organization of the new counties in Western Pennsylvania, it is very certain that he never received any civil appointment whatever from the government, State or Federal. This may have been owing to a diffidence which kept him in the background, or a soldierly stiffness which made him a bad courtier. In his letter of the 14th December, 1796, to General Harmar, the intimate personal friend of Governor Mifflin, he says quite as much for his competitor, George Thompson, as he does for himself.

About the beginning of the present century, he entered into partnership in business, with Anthony Beelen, a Belgian, introduced to him by his father, the Austrian Minister, Francis, Baron de Belen Bartholf. Denny and Beelen were concerned with Lafleur, or "Falure," a Frenchman, in a glass works, probably the second or

third factory of the kind established at Pittsburgh. It was on the north bank of the Ohio, opposite the ripple at the head of Brunot's, the first island; hence the name—"*Glass-house Riffle.*"

In 1803, he was Treasurer of Allegheny county. He appears first on the list of the County Treasurers — and was again Treasurer in 1808.

In 1804, Ebenezer Denny was appointed a Director of the Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania, established that year at Pittsburgh. This was the first bank west of the mountains. "The Miami Exporting Company" was not then a bank, and did not become so until afterward. Three years subsequently a bank was started in Kentucky, under the name of "The Kentucky Insurance Company." It was, in reality, an institution for banking purposes. Like the bank established the same year in Nashville, it failed, as did the Bank of Kentucky and its branches, some years after.

The Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh was subsequently transferred to and merged in the office of the Bank of the United States. Thomas Wilson, who had been a Teller in the Bank of Pennsylvania, subsequently, through the influence of Langdon Cheves, was made principal Cashier of the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. In this capacity Wilson again visited Pittsburgh during the great money pressure and general insolvency of 1819. He came out with full powers to settle with the debtors of the western offices. Major Denny, then a Director of the Branch of the Bank of the United States, was engaged by several

of the principal debtors of the Branch, to endeavor to induce Wilson to accept of property in settlement. He was selected for this purpose, from his own perfect solvency and freedom from debt to the bank, and from the confidence which Mr. Wilson had, when in the office here, reposed in his judgment and integrity. Notwithstanding that the property of the Pittsburgh debtors was offered at a low valuation, it was refused. Similar offers in Cincinnati were, fortunately for the bank, accepted.

In the first Board of Directors of the Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh, five of Major Denny's associates had been officers in the army of the Revolution: Presley Neville, Abraham Kirkpatrick, Adamson Tannehill, George Stevenson and John Wilkins, Jr. James O'Hara, who succeeded John Wilkins, the first President, was the President when the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania was transferred to, and merged in the office of the Bank of the United States. Although not an officer in the Revolutionary war, he was a Commissary and Quarter-master General during the subsequent Indian hostilities, and at least a coadjutor with the army in the Indian prolongation of the War of Independence. James O'Hara was a man of foresight and enterprise. In partnership with Major Isaac Craig, he established the first glass works, and was the pioneer in that branch of Pittsburgh manufactures; which next to, if not more than even iron, is the staple of the place.

A large proportion of the prominent citizens of Pitts-

burgh, at this early period, being, as it thus appears, retired officers of the army, they necessarily constituted a majority in the boards of trustees of the Church, of the Academy and the Bank. Nor does it appear that the Bank of Pennsylvania, or its successor, the Bank of the United States, had any reason to regret their confidence in these gentlemen. Only one other branch of the United States, the office at Mobile, lost less money, or was more successfully managed. If in one or two instances directors were indebted to the institution, their liabilities were fully liquidated by their estates. To these brave men the country was a debtor when they died, and continues so to the descendants of most of them. But no one lost by them.

It is remarkable how many of the original settlers at Pittsburgh had been officers in the Revolutionary army: Colonels John and Presley Neville, William Butler; Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard; Majors Isaac Craig, Ebenezer Denny, Edward Butler, Alexander Fowler; Captains Abraham Kirkpatrick, Adamson Tannehill, Uriah Springer, George M'Cully, Nathaniel Irish, John Irwin, Joseph Ashton, James Gordon Heron; Lieutenants Josiah Tannehill, William M'Millan, Gabriel Peterson, — Ward; Surgeons'-mates John Wilkins, Jr., George Stevenson, John M'Dowell. They made quite a colony of retired officers at *De-un-da-ga.*

In 1805, Major Denny made preparations to move to the Mississippi, in hopes that a southern and milder climate would agree better with the failing health of one dearer to him than life. His old military friends,

Colonel Sargent, Dr. Carmichael, and farther down the hospitable coast, the Butlers, were ready to receive them with open arms. He had a house engaged in Natchez, and built a barge for the purpose of conveying his family down the river, when the beloved person for whose benefit the removal was intended, got worse, and died on the first day of May, 1806, in her thirty-first year, leaving three sons, Harmar, William and St. Clair; and two daughters, the youngest an infant, and following its mother in a few days.

There are some old inhabitants of Pittsburgh who remember that young mother and lamented wife — her graceful manners — her delicate but elegant form — expressive and beautiful features, and mind surpassing the graces of her person; who, if they have ever read the inscription on her tomb in the old Presbyterian graveyard, written by Alexander Addison, must have felt that it was no common-place exaggeration, but like everything from his pen, worthy of his warm heart and sound judgment, and a just tribute to loveliness and virtue

For several years after this period, Major Denny obtained from the War Department the contracts for the supply of rations to the troops at Fort Fayette and at Presqu' Isle, still retaining, in connection with these engagements, his mercantile and commission business, at the north-west corner of Market and Third streets, in a house which he built of the bricks of Fort Pitt.

On the declaration of war with England, his contract obliged him to supply the rations at Erie on thirty days notice. After the surrender of Hull, large quotas of

militia were suddenly ordered to certain points on the lake shore. The contractors in Ohio and Indiana claiming the benefit of that clause in their contracts which entitled them to thirty days notice, did not attempt to meet the requisition. Major Denny was the only contractor who did not claim the benefit of that provision. In Ohio and Indiana they all failed. He proceeded promptly and at all sacrifices, to forward the supplies to the post at Erie. This he did in spite of the enhanced price of provisions and cost of transportation. Of course he lost a great deal of money by his patriotic — I may say, military spirit on that emergency. However, Colonel Eustis, the Secretary of War, seeing that he was the only western army contractor who did not take advantage of the terms of his contract in that respect, directed him, in addition to his own proper posts in Pennsylvania, to furnish, also, the supplies to the North-western army; which he did, and so much to the satisfaction of General Harrison, that at the close of the campaign and successful termination of the war, he wrote a complimentary letter to Major Denny, thanking him for having discharged his commissariat duties with so much promptness, energy and ability, and ascribing much of the success in the prosecution of the war in the North-west to his assistance.

Major Denny managed this business through well chosen agents, without leaving home, unless to go to Washington for the settlement of his accounts. He paid these agents liberally — with the principal one in Ohio, John Waddel, of Chillicothe, he divided his profits.

When Pittsburgh, by an act of the Legislature, on the

18th March, 1816, was incorporated into a city, Ebenezer Denny was elected the first Mayor. He declined a re-election, and retired from all public employments, except that of Director in the Branch of the Bank of the United States, and afterward of the Bank of Pittsburgh, in which he was a large stockholder; and where, from his great experience, perfect independence, judgment and integrity, he had some influence, which he used with discrimination and liberal spirit. Latterly he spent, also, a portion of his time in the discharge of some private trusts which devolved on him by the death of personal friends; and in improving his estate at the mouth of Deer Creek. In the summer of 1822, whilst on a visit to the Falls of Niagara, in company with his only daughter, he was taken ill, and with difficulty reached home, where he died, on the 21st of July, 1822, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Last winter, his Diary, or "Military Journal," was shown for the first time, to a few friends in Philadelphia, at whose instance the Historical Society of Pennsylvania resolved to publish it. For convenience in correcting the proofs, it was agreed to stereotype it in Pittsburgh. There would have been, however, nothing inappropriate in its first seeing the light in the city of the Revolution, where his services began, and where they ended.

In prefacing the publication of the Journal with an imperfect Memoir of his life, it may be said for apology, in the words of Tully:

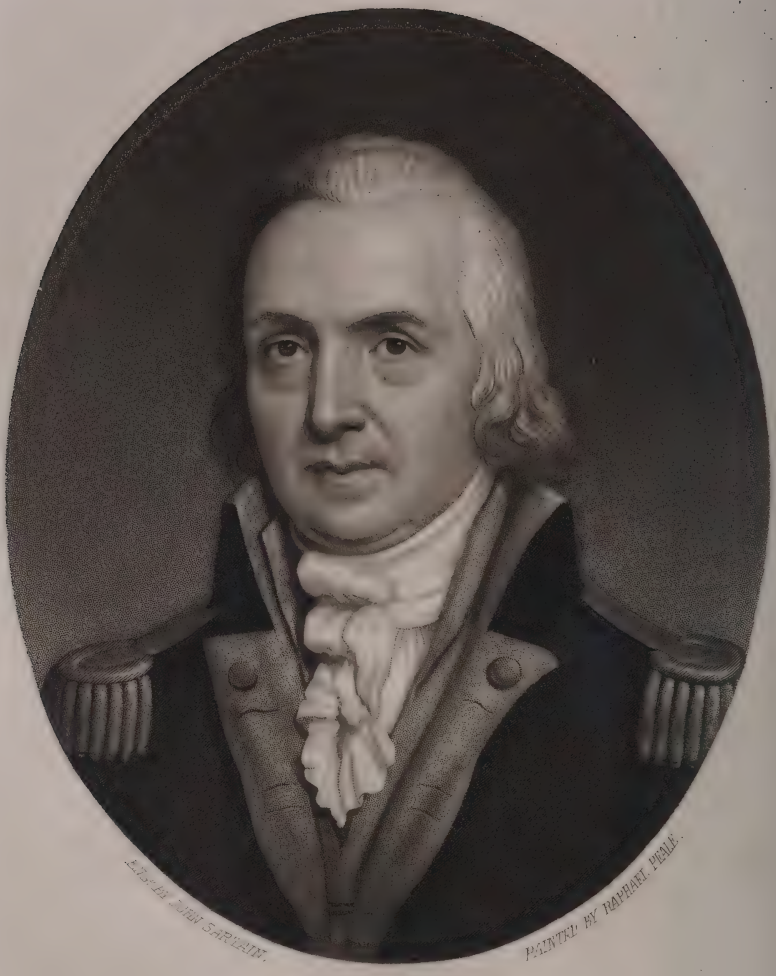
Hæc scripsi non otii abundantiâ, sed amoris ergo te.

Appended are several letters of General Harmar, now for the first time published. Many of them illustrate the Diary. The temptation could not be resisted of including some for their own attraction and public interest. They sustain, throughout, the General's high military reputation and character for vigilance and discipline. They show that, with similar views to those of General Clark, he continually pressed upon the government the policy and necessity of conquering the Indians by first taking the "western posts."

General Harmar was tall and well built, with a manly port, blue eyes, and keen martial glance. He was very bald, wore a cocked hat, and his powdered hair in a cue. Such was his appearance, as described to the writer by the late Harmar Denny, on his return to college from his first visit to "Harmar's Retreat," on the east bank of the Schuylkill, near Gray's Ferry. As he approached the house, before he was half way up the lawn, the General, who was standing in the porch, knew him by the likeness to his father, and hailed the young collegian, with the grace, the dignity and scholarship of the old school—thus apostrophizing the virtues of his ancient friend:

Salve pietas! Salve prisca fides!





Pos. Harman

the different stations, were brought to York, formed into two regiments of eight companies each, destined for the seat of war in Virginia. A few days spent in equipping the men for the field of soldiers elected with unanimity Colonel Anthony Wayne, the commanding officer, who learned, no doubt, by experience of the revolutionary



MILITARY JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY.

Carlisle, *May* 1*st*, 1781.—The Pennsylvania Line, after the revolt and discharge of the men, last winter, were reduced to six regiments; the officers ordered to different towns within the State to recruit. An appointment of ensign in the 7th had been obtained for me in August last; the 7th and 4th were incorporated, and under command of Lt.-Col. Comt. William Butler, rendezvoused at this place—companies now about half full. The effective men were formed into four companies, and marched to Little York; I was arranged to one of the marching companies, Samuel Montgomery, captain, and George Bluer, lieutenant. All the recruits fit for service, from the different stations, were brought to York, formed into two regiments of eight companies each, destined for the State of Virginia. A few days spent in equipping, &c., and for the trial of soldiers charged with mutiny, General Anthony Wayne, the commanding officer, influenced, no doubt, by experience of the revolt last

winter, expresses a determination to punish, with the utmost rigor, every case of mutiny or disobedience. A general court martial continued sitting several days; twenty odd prisoners brought before them; seven were sentenced to die. The regiments paraded in the evening earlier than usual; orders passed to the officers along the line to put to death instantly any man who stirred from his rank. In front of the parade the ground rose and descended again, and at the distance of about three hundred yards over this rising ground, the prisoners were escorted by a captain's guard; heard the fire of one platoon and immediately a smaller one, when the regiments wheeled by companies and marched round by the place of execution. This was an awful exhibition. The seven objects were seen by the troops just as they had sunk or fell under the fire. The sight must have made an impression on the men; it was designed with that view.

York, *May 15th.*—Provision for transporting baggage, &c., and other necessary preparation. Commenced our march for Virginia; the weather pleasant and roads tolerably good. Passed through Frederick Town (Maryland), where were some British prisoners quartered; they turned out to see us. Next day reached the Potomac; here we were detained for want of craft—boats few and in bad condition. The artillery passed over first (a battalion of artillery accompanied the brigade). The second flat-boat had left the shore about forty yards, when the whole sunk. Several women were on board; but as hundreds of men were on the bank,

relief soon reached them; none were lost—got all over. Proceeded a few miles and encamped. Struck our tents every morning before day. About eight or nine o'clock, as we found water, a short halt was made, the water-call beat; parties, six or eight from each company, conducted by a non-commissioned officer, with canteens, fetched water. Seldom allowed to eat until twelve o'clock, when the arms were stacked, knapsacks taken off, and water sent for by parties as before. Officers of a company generally messed together, sometimes more; one of their servants carried cooked provisions for the day; no cooking until night. Not acquainted with the country on our route, but understood that we were marching much about — very circuitous — keeping off the Blue Ridge close on our right. This to avoid the enemy and secure our junction with the Marquis Lafayette.

June 18*th.* — Joined the troops under command of Lafayette. The Marquis had marched two or three days to meet us. His men look as if they were fit for business. They are chiefly all light infantry, dressed in frocks and over-alls of linen. One day spent in washing and refreshing—in fixing arms, carriages, &c., and served out ammunition. Move toward Richmond, where Lord Cornwallis with the British army lay. Heard that his lordship was employed burning and destroying warehouses of tobacco, all the public store-houses, &c. Passed through Richmond toward Williamsburg after the enemy — joined by Baron Steuben with some new levies. Near Bacon's Bridge the British turned upon us; our advance pressed them too close. The army was formed

for a fight — they did not come on. General Wayne very anxious to do something. Colonel Simcoe, who commands the British legion (horse and mounted infantry), is constantly committing some depredation abroad, and foraging for their army. Wayne hears of him — our brigade leave their tents and baggage, march at dark, with piece of white paper in each man's hat — flints taken out. At day-light reach place called the Bowling Green, where Simcoe had been the evening before. This was a severe march for me — found myself asleep more than once on the route. Returned and met the baggage. A detachment from the brigade put under command of Colonel Richard Butler. After a variety of marching and counter-marching, Butler at length intercepts Simcoe; a smart skirmish takes place; Wayne supports Butler, and Simcoe retreats. Here for the first time saw wounded men; feelings not very agreeable; endeavor to conquer this disposition or weakness; the sight sickened me. This little engagement within six miles of Williamsburg, where the enemy were encamped. Pennsylvania troops retreat — advance again. See the Marquis' light troops but seldom—know they are not far off. Kept constantly on the move. Hear that the enemy have decamped and preparing to cross James river at Jamestown. Our brigade move down; lay on arms all night about nine miles from the enemy. At day-light move on; middle of the afternoon of the 6th of July firing ahead. Our advance drove in the enemy's pickets, marching at this time by companies, in open order. My captain (Montgomery) fell behind his company where

my place was, talked with me; gives me a lesson useful to me. When perhaps within one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy, we closed column and displayed; advanced in battalion until the firing commenced, and ran along the whole line. A regiment or more of the light infantry and three pieces of artillery were in the line. Saw the British light infantry, distinctly, advancing at arm's-length distance, and their second line in close order, with shouldered musket, just in front of their camp — their infantry only engaged. The main body were discovered filing off to the right and left, when orders were given us to retreat. My captain, Montgomery, received a shot in his foot and had hopped back in the rear; Lieutenant Bluer being absent, the charge of the company devolved on me; young and inexperienced, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, had like to have disgraced myself—had eat nothing all day but a few blackberries — was faint, and with difficulty kept my place; once or twice was about to throw away my arms (a very heavy espontoon). The company were almost all old soldiers. Kept compact and close to our leading company, and continued running until out of reach of the fire. The enemy advanced no farther than to the ground we left. We could not have been engaged longer than about three or four minutes, but at the distance of sixty yards only. Our loss is said to be upward of one hundred killed and wounded; among the latter twelve officers, one of whom, Lieutenant Herbert, taken prisoner; a few of the wounded not able to get off, were also taken. The artillery horses all killed; two pieces were lost.

Retreated two miles to very commanding ground, where we met the Marquis with our main body; halted and had some Indian meal served out, the wounded dressed, &c., and before day changed our ground and encamped about five miles from the field.

July 7th. — An officer, surgeon, and a few men, sent with flag to bury the dead, &c. This was done in company with an equal number of the enemy. Our wounded who were prisoners, had been properly treated. The British moved from Jamestown. About a fortnight after the action, visited the field; could trace plainly the ground occupied by both, from the tops of the cartridges which lay in a line; the distance between about sixty paces. The army marched and crossed James river at Westover, the seat of Colonel Bird, said to have been once the most wealthy planter in the State; the improvements superb, saw nothing like them before. Kept at a respectful distance from the enemy; rather between them and the route to North Carolina. Some idea of their design to return to the southward. Report going of a French fleet below. This news confirmed—great joy—army on the alert.

Sept. 1*st.* — Army encamped on the bank of James river — part of French fleet, with troops on board, in view. Recrossed James river and encamped at Williamsburg. Army in high spirits—reinforcements coming on.

14*th.*—General Washington arrived; our brigade was paraded to receive him; he rode along the line — quarters in Williamsburg.

15*th*.—Officers all pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief; go in a body; those who are not personally known, their names given by General Hand and General Wayne. He stands in the door, takes every man by the hand—the officers all pass in, receiving his salute and shake. This the first time I had seen the General. We have an elegant encampment close to town, behind William and Mary College. This building occupied as an hospital. Williamsburg a very handsome place, not so populous as Richmond, but situate on evenly, pretty ground; streets and lots spacious—does not appear to be a place of much business, rather the residence of gentlemen of fortune; formerly it was the seat of government and Dunmore's late residence. A neat public building, called the capitol, fronts the principal street; upon the first floor is a handsome marble statue of William Pitt.

The presence of so many general officers, and the arrival of new corps, seem to give additional life to everything; discipline the order of the day. In all directions troops seen exercising and manœuvring. Baron Steuben, our great military oracle. The guards attend the grand parade at an early hour, where the Baron is always found waiting with one or two aids on horseback. These men are exercised and put through various evolutions and military experiments for two hours — many officers and spectators present; excellent school, this. At length the duty of the parade comes on. The guards are told off; officers take their posts, wheel by platoons to the right; fine corps of music detailed for this duty, which strikes up; the whole march off, saluting the

Baron and field officer of the day, as they pass. Pennsylvania brigade almost all old soldiers, and well disciplined when compared with those of Maryland and Virginia. But the troops from the eastward far superior to either.

25*th.*—Joined by the last of the troops from the eastward. French encamped a few miles on the right; busy in getting cannon and military stores from on board the vessels.

28*th.*—The whole army moved in three divisions toward the enemy, who were strongly posted at York, about twelve miles distant. Their pickets and light troops retire. We encamped about three miles off—change ground and take a position within one mile of York; rising ground (covered with tall handsome pines) called Pigeon Hill, separates us from a view of the town. Enemy keep possession of Pigeon Hill. York on a high, sandy plain, on a deep navigable river of same name. Americans on the right; French on the left, extending on both sides of the river; preparations for a siege. One-third of the army on fatigue every day, engaged in various duties, making gabions, fascines, saucissons, &c., and great exertions and labor in getting on the heavy artillery. Strong covering parties (whole regiments) moved from camp as soon as dark, and lay all night upon their arms between us and the enemy. Our regiment, when on this duty, were under cover, and secured from the shot by Pigeon Hill; now and then a heavy shot from the enemy's works reached our camp. Our patrols, and those of the British, met occasionally in the

dark, sometimes a few shot were exchanged—would generally retire. Colonel Schamel, adjutant-general to the army, with two or three attendants, on a party of observation, ventured rather close; they were seen and intercepted by a few smart horsemen from the British. Schamel forced his way through, and got back to camp, but received a wound, of which he died next day. His death was lamented, and noticed by the Commander-in-chief in his orders. Possession taken of Pigeon Hill, and temporary work erected. Generals and engineers, in viewing and surveying the ground, are always fired upon and sometimes pursued. Escorts and covering parties stationed at convenient distances under cover of wood, rising ground, &c., afford support. This business reminds me of a play among the boys, called Prison-base.

At length, everything in readiness, a division of the army broke ground on the night of the 6th of October, and opened the first parallel about six hundred yards from the works of the enemy. Every exertion to annoy our men, who were necessarily obliged to be exposed about the works; however, the business went on, and on the 9th our cannon and mortars began to play. The scene viewed from the camp now was grand, particularly after dark — a number of shells from the works of both parties passing high in the air, and descending in a curve, each with a long train of fire, exhibited a brilliant spectacle. Troops in three divisions manned the lines alternately. We were two nights in camp and one in the lines; relieved about ten o'clock. Passed and repassed by a covert way leading to the parallel.

Oct. 11*th.*—Second parallel thrown up within three hundred yards of the main works of the enemy; new batteries erected, and additional number of cannon brought forward—some twenty-four pounders and heavy mortars and howitzers. A tremendous fire now opened from all the new works, French and American. The heavy cannon directed against the embrasures and guns of the enemy. Their pieces were soon silenced, broke and dismantled. Shells from behind their works still kept up. Two redoubts advanced of their lines, and within rifle shot of our second parallel, much in the way. These forts or redoubts were well secured by a ditch and picket, sufficiently high parapet, and within were divisions made by rows of casks ranged upon end and filled with earth and sand. On tops of parapet were ranged bags filled with sand—a deep narrow ditch communicating with their main lines. On the night of the 14th, shortly after dark, these redoubts were taken by storm; the one on our right, by the Marquis, with part of his light infantry—the other, more to our left, but partly opposite the centre of the British lines, by the French. Our batteries had kept a constant fire upon the redoubts through the day. Belonged this evening to a command detailed for the purpose of supporting the Marquis. The night was dark and favorable. Our batteries had ceased—there appeared to be a dead calm; we followed the infantry and halted about half way—kept a few minutes in suspense, when we were ordered to advance. The business was over, not a gun was fired by the assailants; the bayonet only was used; ten or

twelve of the infantry were killed. French had to contend with a post of more force—their loss was considerable. Colonel Hamilton led the Marquis' advance; the British sentries hailed them — no answer made. They also hailed the French, "Who comes there?" were answered, "French grenadiers." Colonel Walter Stewart commanded the regiment of reserve which accompanied the Marquis; they were immediately employed in connecting, by a ditch and parapet, the two redoubts, and completing and connecting the same with our second parallel. The British were soon alarmed; some from each of the redoubts made their escape. The whole enemy were under arms—much firing round all their lines, but particularly toward our regiment, where the men were at work; the shot passed over. In about three quarters of an hour we were under cover. Easy digging; light sandy ground.

15*th.*—Heavy fire from our batteries all day. A shell from one of the French mortars set fire to a British frigate; she burnt to the water's edge, and blew up—made the earth shake. Shot and shell raked the town in every direction. Bomb-proofs the only place of safety.

16*th.*—Just before day the enemy made a sortie, spiked the guns in two batteries and retired. Our troops in the parallel scarcely knew of their approach until they were off; the thing was done silently and in an instant. The batteries stood in advance of the lines, and none within but artillery. This day, the 16th, our division manned the lines—firing continued without intermission. Pretty strong detachments posted in each battery over night.

17*th.*—In the morning, before relief came, had the pleasure of seeing a drummer mount the enemy's parapet, and beat a parley, and immediately an officer, holding up a white handkerchief, made his appearance outside their works; the drummer accompanied him, beating. Our batteries ceased. An officer from our lines ran and met the other, and tied the handkerchief over his eyes. The drummer sent back, and the British officer conducted to a house in rear of our lines. Firing ceased totally.

18*th.*—Several flags pass and repass now even without the drum. Had we not seen the drummer in his red coat when he first mounted, he might have beat away till doomsday. The constant firing was too much for the sound of a single drum; but when the firing ceased, I thought I never heard a drum equal to it—the most delightful music to us all.

19*th.*—Our division man the lines again. All is quiet. Articles of capitulation signed; detachments of French and Americans take possession of British forts. Major Hamilton commanded a battalion which took possession of a fort immediately opposite our right and on the bank of York river. I carried the standard of our regiment on this occasion. On entering the fort, Baron Steuben, who accompanied us, took the standard from me and planted it himself. The British army parade and march out with their colors furled; drums beat as if they did not care how. Grounded their arms and returned to town. Much confusion and riot among the British through the day; many of the soldiers were intoxicated; several attempts in course of the night to break open

stores; an American sentinel killed by a British soldier with a bayonet; our patrols kept busy. Glad to be relieved from this disagreeable station. Negroes lie about, sick and dying, in every stage of the small pox. Never was in so filthy a place — some handsome houses, but prodigiously shattered. Vast heaps of shot and shells lying about in every quarter, which came from our works. The shells did not burst, as was expected. Returns of British soldiers, prisoners six thousand, and seamen about one thousand. Lord Cornwallis excused himself from marching out with the troops; they were conducted by General O'Hara. Our loss said to be about three hundred; that of the enemy said not more than five hundred and fifty. Fine supply of stores and merchandise had; articles suitable for clothing were taken for the use of the army. A portion furnished each officer to the amount of sixty dollars.

20*th.*—Joined by a new raised regiment from Pennsylvania. Officers hastened to partake of the siege, but were too late. British troops march into the interior—to Winchester and other places. Visit Gloucester, small village opposite York; nothing seen there. Some of our officers return to Pennsylvania, others take their place. Visit Williamsburg in company with young gentlemen of the country, on horseback; spend a few days very agreeably. Militia employed leveling the lines. Our brigade prepare for a long march.

Nov. 1*st.*—Three regiments of Pennsylvania, a detachment of artillery, and Maryland troops, commence their march for South Carolina — General St. Clair, the com-

manding officer. Easy, regular marching; roads generally good, through sandy country. Pass through Richmond and Guilford, in North Carolina, where General Green and the British had a hard fight; also Camden, where Gates was defeated. Halted at least one day in the week for purpose of washing and refreshing.

Jan. 4th, 1782. — Joined the troops under General Green at Round O, in the State of South Carolina. Moved to Pond-Pond; here we lay some time. Rice farms around this neighborhood — the fields almost all under water; immense quantities of ducks; excellent sport at times. Planters return to their homes — live in style. Army change their ground; march to Ashley. Was on picket the night before we reached Ashley; got exceedingly wet — it rained all night. Marched next morning in wet clothes twelve miles, to Ashley, exposed to very hot sun; laid up with fever — carried to hospital; as soon as able, returned to camp. Hospital very disagreeable place — all sick, and some continually dying. Attendance good; surgeons very kind; furnished with some stores, sugar, tea and molasses. Continued weak and unfit for duty for some weeks. Ashley a very good position—ground high and dry; but it is now midsummer and sickly season. Men die very fast; lost several valuable officers. Ashley river low; full of alligators.

August. — Camp continued on bank of Ashley river, eighteen or twenty miles above Charleston. Enemy confine themselves to city. Their light troops and horse advanced five miles, at place called Quarter House.

Armies both seem disposed to be quiet; ours in no condition for doing much. Some talk of peace, and of the enemy evacuating Charleston. Detailed for command. Joined a captain of the Maryland line; marched with two sergeants, two corporals, and thirty men, for Georgetown, about sixty miles distant, coast-wise. Escorted a brigade of wagons loaded with rum for the army. Country appears deserted; the few people we saw looked bad enough, poor and dejected; they fled from us, and in some instances hid themselves. Farms on this route have been neglected; exposed to the incursions of the British. Negroes and stock either removed or taken. Fell in with an alligator, twelve feet in length, in the middle of the road; supposed that his pond had dried up, and that he was in search of another; soldier shot him.

September.—Our camp very thin; not more than three relieves of officers and men for the ordinary duties. Hospitals crowded, and great many sick in camp; deaths so frequent, the funeral ceremony dispensed with. Provisions scarce and very indifferent; the beef brought from the back counties of North Carolina, by the time they reach the camp, poor indeed, and must be unwholesome. Commissary's yard and slaughter place commonly short distance from camp. Soldier going there in morning about killing time, met his comrade returning in; asked how was the beef this morning? other replied, that it took two men to hold up the creature until the butcher knocked it down. Says the other, And why

didn't he knock it down as it lay? Flour a rare article. Troops have lived chiefly upon rice, now and then a small allowance of Indian meal served out — rice very good for the sick, but rather washy for duty men. Governor Hamilton, of this State, himself and family, quarter at a pleasant seat, two miles in rear of camp — General Green not quite so far; each has a subaltern's guard. Very fond of getting one or other of these guards better fare than we have in camp. Officer considered and treated as one of the family.

October.—Camp at Ashley Hill. Ranks thinned very much; deaths not so frequent. Our situation as to ground, a handsome one, and, as far as I can judge, eligible, but assuredly the climate is severe upon northern constitutions. Gentlemen who can afford it, reside during summer in the city and spend the winter in the country. An unpleasant week's command. At a bridge over Ashley, six or seven miles from camp, where the great road from Charleston to the upper country crosses, a subaltern and thirty men have been stationed. It became my turn. Orders were to suffer no people to pass or repass without proper permit. It was now pretty well known that the enemy would soon evacuate the city. Many poor devils had taken protection and followed the British in; provisions scarce in town, and those people sick of their situation—they were anxious to get back to their old places of abode in the country. Some very miserable objects came out—whole families, battered and starving. Was sure, upon my representation, leave

would be given to let them pass. Stated the business in writing, and dispatched a sergeant. No—ordered not to let them pass; thought this an unnecessary cruelty.

Dec. 13*th.* — Had been expecting, every day for a month past, to hear of the intended evacuation of Charleston. The Governor's guard was an object at this time, as the officer commanding would, of course, accompany or escort him into the city. I was so fortunate as to have the guard this day, when advice was received that the British would embark next morning. A few hours for the Governor to get ready, we set out in the evening with one tumbrel, containing books, papers, &c., and reached the city early next day. Saw the last of the enemy embark in their boats and put off to the shipping. An immense fleet lay in sight all day; found the city very quiet—houses all shut up. A detachment from the army had marched the day before to take possession as soon as the English would be off. Guards stationed at proper places, and small parties, conducted by an officer, patrolled the streets. Charleston a handsome town, situate on neck of land between the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers; Cooper river, however, appears to be the only harbor. Town here fronts the east; business all done on this side. Second and third day people began to open their houses and show themselves, and some shops opened. Stayed a week, and returned to our old encampment.

30*th.* — Broke up our camp. Pennsylvanians have been reduced, by deaths, desertions, &c., and were now incorporated into one regiment of six hundred men.

Supernumerary officers went home to their own State. Lieut.-Col. Commt. Josiah Harmar, who had acted as Adjutant-general since our junction with General Green, took command of this regiment.

Jan. 1*st*, 1783. — Arrived on James Island, and encamped contiguous to a very beautiful forest of pine. Had with us one complete regiment of the Maryland line, a battalion belonging to South Carolina, (which was all the troops that State had), and six companies of artillery, two of whom were from Pennsylvania, the rest from Virginia. Colonel Hamilton commandant of artillery. The woodland an elegant situation for hunting. Each company had its ground marked out, when the whole went to work, and in course of a week were completely housed. Some of the companies had more timber upon the ground they occupied than was necessary for their huts. The infantry were in a line; artillery in rear of right wing formed a park. The order and formation such as our encampment.

January. — Cantonment on James Island. Weather moderate. Troops employed finishing huts and opening the streets; not a stump left. Top of timber and brush carried to certain distance, and built up in a circular line round the cantonment. This brush barrier, or fence, could not be passed without much trouble; it served instead of sentinels round the camp. Openings left at particular places, where the guards or sentinels were stationed. Still kept a front and rear camp guard, but the usual number lessened.

February.—Very pleasant weather for working parties;

some appearance of spring. Officers and men all in comfortable quarters. Provisions good; very little occasion for fire through the winter.

March and April. — Delightful season. James Island a little paradise — the country flat, but sandy and dry. Troops healthy. Our regiment receive new clothing; officers also are furnished in Charleston with a small supply. Make a very fine appearance. Exercised often; perform the parade duties in absence of the adjutant — very fond of this. Officers go frequently to the city — police boat for that purpose; row there in half an hour. A short walk from the huts, and we have a view of Charleston, of Hadrel's Point, which is the main land east, and of Sullivan's Island, east across the channel from James Island. Visit Fort Sullivan, celebrated for the defense made against Sir Peter Parker. Curtains and embrasures faced with the cabbage tree — soft spongy wood, admirably calculated for this use. Saw where a great many shot from the British ships had entered the logs, but no damage done; holes almost closed up. From Sullivan's Island to Hadrel's Point was formerly a bridge—it was burnt by the British. Fort Sullivan still in very good condition; but Fort Johnson, upon James Island, immediately opposite (across the channel), nearly demolished. Plenty of fish and oysters all round us, and what the folks here call stone crabs, very fine; they are like the common crab, but much larger, and soft shells. Officers in rotation dine with General Green, at his house in the city. Colonel Stewart, of the Maryland regiment, on an excursion in the

country, was cast from his horse into the ditch and broke his neck. Officers of the army (those on duty excepted) attended his funeral in Charleston. Preliminaries of a peace arrive. Great rejoicing—grand review—dinner—fire works, and dance at the cantonment. Ladies and gentlemen come over on this occasion from Charleston.

June 1*st.*—Preparations making to send home, by sea, the Maryland and Pennsylvania troops; transports wanting. A New England brig arrives, and contracts to carry two companies. Bond's and Irwin's companies ordered to embark. I had belonged to the latter since the action of Jamestown, when Captain Montgomery, who was wounded, returned to Pennsylvania. Had a very pleasant passage of seven days to Philadelphia, where we landed on the 15th. Mrs. Green, wife of the General, came passenger with us. Quartered in the Philadelphia barracks, along with about one hundred and fifty new raised men. Our companies of the southward appear to great advantage. The near approach of the disbandment of the army, and a tardiness in Congress to make provision for a settlement, produced dissatisfaction among the officers in Pennsylvania, as well as among those at head-quarters. To us who were strangers in our own State, this business was unknown. About eighty men from the recruiting rendezvous at Lancaster, turned out and marched to Philadelphia without an officer; were joined by the recruits in the barracks; marched to the State House where Congress were, frightened that body, and broke up their sitting. This proceeding took place about noon, when the officers belonging to the two com-

panies from Charleston were at Governor Dickinson's on an invitation to dinner. The alarm reached us—hastened to the barracks—long roll beat; our two companies fell in to a man; marched to the Governor's house in Market street; several troops of militia horse paraded; great uproar in the city. Although the insurgents had posted sentinels round the State House, the members of Congress made out to escape, after passing a resolution to assemble at Trenton. The officers who were concerned in this business, and who had privately directed the movements, now thought of themselves; they fled and escaped in a light boat down the river; men soon dispersed. A few days brought General Howe from headquarters with a brigade of light troops, for purpose of suppressing the insurrection. Most of the officers who were here previous to our arrival were arrested, and a few taken in close custody. General court martial ordered for their trial. Government were desirous of getting rid of the army in as quiet a manner as possible; at this particular period it was thought best not to be too rigid. Howe had his cue; officers released. Captain Alexander Parker (my uncle), on furlough from Lancaster, was returning home; obtained leave of absence, and accompanied him to Carlisle. Our regiment from southward not yet arrived.

Dec. 3*d.*—By proclamation of Congress, the American army was disbanded; a few men, under the command of a captain at Fort Pitt, excepted. A resolution soon followed for raising a regiment for the purpose of garrisoning the western posts—this regiment to consist of ten

companies, portioned as follows: Pennsylvania—4 companies and Lieut.-Col. Commt. Jersey—1 company. New York—3 companies and a Major. Connecticut—2 companies and a Major.

1784.—The States made the appointments in the first instance, which were confirmed by Congress. The officers were all from those who had been in service. Colonel Harmar was in France; had been sent with the ratification of the treaty. The command of the new regiment was reserved for him, and indeed the Pennsylvania appointments not made until his return. Governor Mifflin at this time was President of Congress, and very popular in Pennsylvania, and Harmar's great friend; but the Colonel's character as a military man stood high; the regiment he brought from the southward eclipsed every thing. I was nominated by Harmar one of his ensigns; the appointment reached me at Carlisle. As soon as they had a knowledge of my acceptance, recruiting instructions were sent me. Marched about a dozen men down to Philadelphia; joined the camp on west side of Schuylkill. The four companies nearly full. Some time spent in equipping and exercising the recruits.

September.—Marched through Lancaster by Carlisle, &c., to Pittsburgh. Waited for the arrival of commissioners appointed to hold a treaty with the Indians. Treaty expected to be holden at Cuyahoga. Commissioners late getting out, season advanced, plan changed, and Indians invited to attend at Fort M'Intosh, about thirty miles below Fort Pitt, on bank of Ohio; to which place we repaired, and found exceeding good quarters.

January, 1785.—About four hundred of the Senecas, Delawares and Wyandots come in. After considerable difficulty, a treaty is agreed to, but with much reluctance on the part of the savages. Amongst the Indians are a number of women and children. The whole a very motley crew—an ugly set of devils all—very few handsome men or women. Colonel Harmar did not join us until we reached Fort Pitt, at which place I was appointed to do the duty of adjutant; this had always been favorite duty of mine.

Fort M'Intosh, 1785.—Winter passed away—no orders for marching; did expect, as soon as the season would permit, to march for Detroit. April and May delightful season—frequent excursions into the country—fishing and hunting. Officers visit Fort Pitt, where we left a lieutenant and thirty men. Fort Pitt and Fort M'Intosh both handsome places. Fort Pitt erected by the British long before the late war—an elegant work, regular pentagon; vast labor and money expended here. Ditch and parapet with pickets and fencing, and every thing in the most complete order. Very considerable quantity of military stores at this place. Indians come in to trade, will get drunk—a white man killed by a drunken Indian at Pittsburgh—people rise and attempt to put the Indian to death. Express sent to Colonel Harmar at M'Intosh. I was ordered to Pitt with certain instructions to Lieutenant Ashton, who commanded there. The Indian guarded to county jail. Pittsburgh in Westmoreland county. Hannahstown, about thirty miles east, the seat of justice. Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas,

arrived at Pitt. He had signed the treaty of M'Intosh; was dissatisfied — his people reflected on him; came to revoke. Colonel Harmar was informed of this, and invited up to Pitt—I accompanied him. Meeting appointed in the King's Orchard. Speeches on both sides taken down. Cornplanter dismissed with assurances, &c., but no revoking.

Summer nearly gone. Men have been enlisted but for one year; orders to re-enlist for three. Of the four companies, we re-engaged seventy effective men — rest all discharged. Officers went on the recruiting service. Anxious to know how I was to be disposed of. Proper complement of officers kept for the new company. Did count upon returning over the mountains, but would have preferred remaining at Pittsburgh. Dislike the recruiting service. The new company ordered to prepare to embark for the Great Miami, where another treaty is intended to be held. Generals Butler and Parsons, two of the commissioners, arrive. The party all ready to descend the river, when the Colonel instructed me to prepare and accompany them; this to me was very unexpected. The company has its complement of officers; I was extra. Must move.

29*th*.—I agreed with Mr. Duncan, about the wintering of my mare; he promising to keep her safe in his meadow, while the grass continued, and charge nothing—but the remainder of the winter she should be well fed and kept on good hay, for thirty shillings per month. Having arranged affairs as well as the shortness of my time would afford, I set off for M'Intosh, in company

with Mr. O'Hara, but did not arrive until the next morning; the water being exceedingly low, and Mr. O'Hara so unfortunate as to run aground in the night. At ten o'clock set out on horseback for Fort Pitt to make some arrangements; stayed one day. Found the party had sailed. A corporal and six men with small boat left for me. After receiving from the Colonel particular orders relative to myself, I embarked again with Mr. O'Hara. and in a few hours, with brisk rowing, overtook the commissioners, who had halted at Little Beaver creek, where Captain Hutchens and several surveyors were encamped. Here we stayed some minutes. About ten o'clock at night we got to where the troops were encamped, near the mouth of Yellow Creek, 30th September, 1785. A very pretty looking company, commanded by Captain Doughty, of New York, arrived at M'Intosh the same day the other left.

Oct. 3*d.* — Reached Wheeling. Joined by several of the contractor's boats loaded with provisions. Our fleet now consists of twelve small keels and batteaux, besides two large flats called Kentucky boats. The flats carry cattle, horses, &c.; the others, the troops and goods for the Indians. Ohio river remarkably low — two pilots employed to keep ahead and point out the channel; notwithstanding, some of the boats frequently ground.

8*th.* — Encamped opposite mouth of Little Kanahwa. My uncle, Captain Parker, owns the ground above Kanahwa; crossed over in light boat; his improvements made just before the war scarcely visible; place grown up; pretty tract of land. Settlement and pre-emption

entitle him to fourteen hundred acres. Will be valuable property not long hence.

11*th.*—Passage very tedious; water low and frequent interruptions; made not more than ten and fifteen miles a day. Fine opportunity of hunting and fishing along the shore. Game plenty, particularly turkeys. Some elegant bottoms on both sides of the river; but generally opposite the most prominent parts of the bottoms, the hill makes in and forms what is called narrows. Colonel Monroe, a member of Congress from Virginia, on a visit to Kentucky, took passage with the commissioners. Obliged to meet Congress early in October, and anxious to get on; a light boat got ready; a sergeant, myself, a corporal and six privates, embark with the Colonel—leave the fleet, and after rowing about fifteen miles arrive at Great Kanahwa.

12*th.*—Spent this morning with Colonel Lewis, who is proprietor of the place. Several families reside with him on the point—it is a very pretty situation. Set out about eleven o'clock; kept half our crew at the oars all night.

13*th.*—In the evening passed the Three Islands; narrow channel here; Indian crossing place. Frequent attacks on boats at this place; saw nothing; arrived safe at Limestone, late.

14*th.*—Colonel Monroe having procured horses to carry him to Lexington, left me at ten o'clock. Nothing remarkable here; place only settled this spring; indifferent kind of folks. This is said to be the best and nearest landing place to Lexington—if so, it will in a short time become of some importance.

18*th.*—Fleet arrive—make a short halt and pass on. I follow in my light boat; encamp early in the evening; men cook provisions for next day.

22*d.*—Arrive at the Great Miami. Best ground for our station about a mile above the mouth, where the boats were brought and every thing unloaded. All hands set to work chopping, clearing, &c., and preparing timber for block-houses and pickets; and on the 8th instant had ourselves inclosed. Hoisted the United States flag, and christened the place Fort Finney, in compliment to Captain Finney, the commanding officer. Our work is a square stockade fort; substantial block-houses, two stories, twenty-four by eighteen feet in each angle; curtains one hundred feet of stout pickets, four feet in the ground, and nine feet above; situate one hundred and fifty yards from the river, on a rising second bank. A building, eighteen by twenty feet, within the east and west curtains, for the accommodation and reception of contractors' stores and Indian goods; and one small, but strong building, centre of north curtain, for magazine. A council house, twenty by sixty, detached, but within gun shot. Commissioners and their followers pitch their tents within the fort, and erect wooden chimneys. Season very favorable, but growing cool. Men employed finishing the block-houses, and clearing off the timber and brush to some distance outside.

Nov. 13*th.*—Corporal Thompson arrived with his boat, in company with General Parsons, one of the commissioners.

24*th.*—Messengers who set out from Pittsburgh to the

Indian towns, to invite the Indians to a treaty at this place, arrive with six chiefs of the Shawanees, Wyandot and Delaware nations, to wit: Captain Johnny, or Red Pole, Half-King, Crane, Pipe, Wingeman and White-Eyes — all very glad to see us *brothers*. Some grog and smoke produced.

25*th*. — Wrote to Colonel Harmar at Philadelphia, an account of our passage, &c., and of the arrival of the Indians, state of the troops, &c.

27*th*.—Caught two large Kentucky boats floating down empty — had been unloaded at Limestone, and carried away by a sudden rise of water. Boards served us for floors, sentry boxes and other useful purposes. About one hundred Indians assemble and encamp a couple of miles from us; the greatest part Wyandots, a few Delawares.

Dec. 5*th*. — Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons leave us on a visit to the Falls of Ohio, about one hundred and fifty miles below. Captain Finney and myself, with a party of soldiers in boat, go to Big Bone Lick, thirty miles down; dig up and collect some astonishing large bones.

Dec. 6*th*. — Spent this day in the Indian camp by invitation; treated with attention. It was a high day among them, a frolic and feast; several games played— exceedingly active at the game our boys call shinny or common. About forty young men were paraded for this game, equally divided; the ground had been cleared for the purpose. At the centre was a painted post, decorated with pieces of cloth suitable for leggings and breech

clouts; the winning side got these. Their ball the size of a man's head, made of deer's hair, covered with skin; their sticks four or five feet long, resembling a racket. The ball was thrown in the air—all endeavored to catch it upon his racket; a fellow would take it in this way and keep in until another more smart overtook him or knocked it abroad, when another scramble took place. They insisted on my joining in one of these games. Several other games were played; some with beans and dishes or bowls, in imitation of backgammon. Our dinner was served upon skins spread on the ground. Had walked to the camp, but must ride back; girl and horse got for me.[1]

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[1] Elsewhere in a note he says: "I left the garrison in company with Mr. Zane (a man who has been brought up during his youth amongst the Wyandots), to share in the amusements of a frolic that was to take place this day. Accordingly, when we arrived at their encampment we were taken very friendly by the hand, and desired to fall in with them at a game of common. The first thing did was to divide the whole into two parties; this ceremony was performed by two old sachems; and then took post on each side of an elegant decorated post of sugar tree, on the top of which was as much new scarlet cloth as would make a pair of leggings; around the middle was bound a pair of scarlet garters. These were the prizes. When all was ready, one of the old men gave a halloo as a signal to make ready, which was answered by another from each of the company; at that instant the ball was thrown up in the air, then at it we went, and contended for half an hour. At length it was sent past the stage, and the person who struck it declared it aloud, which ended that game—he being presented with the leggings. And in the same manner was the garter played for; he who hit the ball the last got the prize.

"After dinner another play was introduced, which was called *mamondys*. Having all sat down in a circle, they placed some blankets in the centre, and two of them began the play, with a wooden dish and six plum stones in it, marked on each side something like dice. They shook the dishes about, and from certain marks one would soon exceed the other. With

7*th.* — The Indian women assembled in our council house and desired the attendance of the chief captain (Captain Finney). We all turned out, heard an oration from one of their elderly ones, the conclusion of which was a request for something to warm their hearts.

12*th.*—Accompany Isaac Zane, a white man, and two Indians, on a hunting party. We took a light boat, went up the river seven miles, and pitched a camp; had an Indian woman along to keep camp. First day, too anxious in pursuit of buffalo, lost my course; intended to have kept near to Zean; he was led off. I was alone and followed by wolves, yowling occasionally. Zean heard the report of my rifle and came up; was very glad to see him. Concluded to return to camp; he conducted me some distance. Before we parted he killed a doe; opened the udder with his knife—milk collected, of which I drank. Got to camp and stayed there. Party returned home the fourth day, and brought with us the meat of three buffaloes, two bears and parts of a number of deer.

15*th.* — The same day we returned from our hunt, it rained excessively hard. We were joined by our commissioners from the Rapids, just at the landing; they having received a plentiful quantity of wet that occasioned a near resemblance to drowned rats.

18*th.* — Three Shawanee Indians arrived with a speech

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these and other affairs we diverted ourselves until it grew late, when taking our leave, one who had expressed a great deal of friendship for me, remarked that the road was dirty, that we had three miles to go, and that I would be much the better of a horse—if I would accept of one he would soon have him procured; I assented; accordingly a squaw was dispatched, and soon after we were both mounted and conducted home by two *females*."

from their nation, informing us of their being on their way to this place. This was very agreeable news to our commissioners.

19*th.*—Major Montgomery and Mr. Elliot were sent in a boat, with a sergeant and four privates, up to Limestone, in search of several horses that were stolen from the Indians here, and were heard of at that place.

20*th.*—Commissioners returned a few days since from the Falls; disappointed at not finding more Indians come in. Those with us, about one hundred, are principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at M'Intosh was held. The Shawanees are the fellows the present treaty was intended for; they seem to hang back. Indians treated very kindly—dancing parties in our council house almost every afternoon; the men jump, stamp and exert themselves much, but all keep good time; females glide round, and have a gait or step peculiar to themselves. An old fellow has a keg, with skin drawn over each head—sort of drum on which he beats time—considerable regularity—dance in a circle round the fire—can't dance without something to make their hearts warm, and generally break up pretty merry. Very few went home sober, but those who did were sure to get drunk at night. They would come next day and peremptorily demand a quantity of rum; on being refused they set homeward very much offended, declaring that the next day should move them off, never to be seen as friends again. This day our clothing came.

Dec. 20*th.*—The commissioners are of opinion that a post will be continued here; they think it an eligible

position until we are in possession of Detroit, &c. It is convenient to the principal body of the savages who inhabit the head waters of the Miami, and we are about seventy-five miles north of Lexington, to which place a road is now marked out; the Falls of Louisville, below, and Limestone settlement above.

21*st.* — Sent a return to Colonel Harmar by Mr. Hulings, inclosed in a letter, the copy of which is as follows:

COLONEL — Since my last, the commissioners after sending back the Shawanee chiefs, to bring in their nation and others on the Wabash, &c., have taken a trip to the Rapids, where they left General Clark. Whether he will return or not, is a doubt with us; but General Butler and General Parsons say he will be up in a few days. Our reason for thinking he will scarcely return, is, that while here he had received almost daily complaints from the people on the frontiers of Kentucky, against the Indians, and reflecting on him for trifling, as they think, with some of the savages, while others are plundering *them*. The people are very ripe for a campaign into the towns.

A runner arrived two days since with a speech from the Shawanees, informing us of the whole nation being on their way to this place. But after they do arrive, there are several more nations to be coaxed, so that from every appearance, next spring will bring up the rear of the treaty Much more indulgence is allowed the Indians here than was at M'Intosh. Dancing, playing common, &c. (for which they are well supplied with materials to make their hearts merry), are frequent amusements here. Major Finney is determined they shan't act *Pontiac* with him, for every precaution is taken at that time.

The commissioners are of opinion that this place is the most advantageous spot to keep troops at, until we have possession of others farther northerly, as it is convenient to the principal body of the savages, and nearly an equal distance from the Rapids, the interior part of Kentucky, and Limestone, which is the upper part of the settlement. There has been a road marked out from this place to Lexington, their capital town,

from which we can have any supplies we might stand in need of. The distance is about seventy-five miles.

The companies' clothing came to hand yesterday, all in good order. The commissioners made a compliment to Major Finney of as much white half-thicks as made each man a pair of over-alls; they have been worn for some time past, so that their sufferings are not so great as you might imagine. Opportunities are so seldom up the river that I can't possibly send you returns as regular as I could wish, but none shall be neglected.

I have the honor to remain, your very humble servant,

E. D.

23*d*. — General Clark arrived from the Rapids, which was a very agreeable surprise, as few of us expected him.

25*th*.—A very dull Christmas (Sunday).

28*th*.—The chiefs of the Delaware nation (particularly Captain Pipe) made proposals to our commissioners to send once more to their towns, to know why a certain tribe of their's did not come in agreeably to a promise, and likewise, if the commissioners would send a messenger, he should be accompanied by their runners into the Shawanee towns, and to the more western towns, to bring a final answer from them. All was agreed to; and at the request of the commissioners, Mr. Doyle prepared to accompany Mr. Ranken.

29*th*.—New deputation sent to bring the Shawanees, if possible, to treat — Lieutenant Doyle went along — all mounted. The caravan took up the line of march, and was expected would move on in state. Mr. Doyle, with his friend, Mr. Ranken, and a young man, an assistant, with two Indian men and several women, formed the line. They had not been long on the road until a very heavy cold rain came on, from which they must have suffered

much; but as the party consisted of old warriors, it was expected they would not be discouraged at any difficulties of that kind, but proceed as men employed on such business ought to.

31*st.* — I set out in company with two Shawanees to provide a few turkeys for the first of the year, and at the request of General Parsons, agreed to meet him, General Butler and Major Finney, at a large pond about six miles up the river; they to go in a boat. After we had rode the distance of four or five miles (for our party was all on horse-back; I was mounted on one of the Indians' wife's horse and saddle), we got amongst the turkeys; and the first thing done was to *charge* upon them, so as to cause them to fly up on the trees, and all the howlings and frightful screeches I ever heard, were given to effect this purpose. As soon as the turkeys rose we alighted and commenced firing. In this manner we sported with two flocks, until we had as many as we could conveniently carry home; then steering our course toward the boat, met a horse belonging to the Indians, and the only one that was left behind; he missing his old companions, got on their track, and having a bell on, alarmed the boat, just as it was putting into the place appointed for our meeting, and occasioned them to make to the other side of the river; so we were obliged to return home without the refreshment which we expected from them.

Jan. 1*st*, 1786. — Agreeably to an invitation, the commissioners and their gentlemen dined with Major Finney, Mr. M'Dowell and myself, in our hut, where we spent a few sociable hours in memory of the late year, and drink-

ing success to the ensuing one. Just as tattoo was striking off, a gun was fired on the river and a light shone that did not a little alarm us, but upon examination was discovered to be a boat passing; we made her come to shore. One of her hands was an old man, who had been lately made a prisoner by the Shawanees. His story is as follows: About two weeks since, himself and his two sons were hunting on the head waters of Yellow Creek; at a time when the sons were after their horses, two Indians came on him, and after inquiring of his company (for they could talk English) moved off very rapidly, taking him along as a prisoner; he says they treated him tolerably, only that his hands were bound; but when they arrived at the Indian town, an old man took the direction and loosed his arms, returning to him his blanket, which had been taken, along with a rifle and some ammunition. He was kept about two hours, when the same old man, who could talk very good English, conducted him from the town, placed him on a path that led to where two of the old man's sons were hunting; he at the same time gave the prisoner a horse, three pints of parched corn and a shell to deliver to these boys, and then sent him off. The prisoner found the boys and delivered the shell; they knowing the horse, and understanding the token, conducted the prisoner down to the Three Islands, about eleven miles above Limestone; and just as they approached the river they discovered a boat on its way down. The Indians being apprehensive of some danger from the boat, did not wait for its coming ashore, but after bidding farewell with the white man, took their

horse, which he rode, and moved off. The white man hailed the boat, got on board, and so arrived at this place.

2*d*.—Major Montgomery and Mr. Elliot arrived with two of the horses that they went in search of; the third one they were not able to get, but expect that Colonel Boon, a very worthy gentleman at Limestone, will recover him.

8*th*.—Lieutenant Doyle arrived, and informed us that after a disagreeable march of sixty miles, they were met by a party of one hundred and fifty Shawanees, on Sunday, the first of the year. After consulting, it was agreed that he and Mr. Rankin should return, and Wengeanem, the Indian chief, go forward as far as was first intended; indeed, the chief thought, that as Lieutenant Doyle and Mr. Rankin were under his protection, that he ought to have the right of ordering them, and did order them back with the Shawanees. Lieutenant Doyle says that the few nights he was with them their march was conducted with great regularity; that the whole appeared to be formed in certain squads, equal in number, and when any of their young men or hunters would kill meat, it was brought, laid down by the chiefs, one of whom cut it into as many shares as there were squads or fires (for every squad had their own fire) and sent it off by men, who appeared to serve as fatigue men for the day; so there was no one lived better than another, but all fared alike. Every evening after they halted and fixed themselves properly, Captain Johnny, a young Indian who lived with the chiefs, and seemed to act as an *aid*, would take a drum made out of a keg, with skins tied over each

end, and beat some kind of a signal; on hearing which, the whole would assemble and spend the greatest part of the night in dancing and feasting. Lieutenant Doyle continued with them until the whole got within twenty miles of the Fort, when hearing that they intended resting at that place, while another party of the same number would join them, he took leave of Mr. Ranken and came with his suite to the garrison.

9*th*.—George White-Eyes and Pipe's son, set out with dispatches for Muskingum, the purport of which was to have stores and liquors sent down.

14*th*.—We received information of the Shawanees intending to come into the council house, and that on their approach they would salute us with three rounds per man. Our commissioners knowing them to be a very proud nation, thought it best to pay them the same honors, and ordered preparations in a style rather degrading to the United States, which was, that a party of soldiers should cook and serve out provisions to them in the council house. Now with them, the most decrepit old women are made choice of for that business; and nothing could have occasioned greater laughter than the appearance of soldiers carrying kettles of provisions to them. When the Indians saw them, they cried out, "There come the old women with warriors' coats on," &c. And who knows but they conceived us all old women clad in uniform. In order to return their salute, twelve men were ordered to parade, with three rounds of cartridges, and myself to command them. We waited their approach, which was very solemn. As they came

up they gave us Indian music, beat on a keg drum by one of the chiefs, the whole singing at the same time. Their line was formed in rank of file, the women bringing up the rear, all in very regular order. When their firing was over I commenced, and in the intervals gave them a tune on the drum and fife.

After all were seated, their chief warrior, Wiendoohalies, from Wapotomaky, rose and wiped our eyes, opened our hearts, &c. After which our commissioners delivered a speech, informing them of their commission and Congress' desire to treat with all nations between the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, north of the Ohio, and bidding the Shawanees welcome to the thirteen great fires; that at their next meeting the business would be entered into more fully. The Shawanees then desired to shake hands with the warriors; accordingly the officers paraded in the centre and received them all by the hand. A smoke from their pipes of peace took place next; and about dark a signal was given to march, and off they went.

19*th.*—It snowed until the ground was nearly six inches covered; but immediately after came warm weather which melted the whole, and caused the river to rise.

21*st.*—Bohengeehalus,[1] with about twenty Delawares, arrived. They were saluted in the same manner that the others were. Bohengeehalus is esteemed one of the greatest warriors now among all the Indians. After he

[1] Bohengeehalus, a very large stout man, brother of the "Grenadier Squaw."

had seated himself he discovered General Clark, and knowing him to be a great warrior, rose and saluted him very significantly—instead of taking hold of each other's hands, they gripped nearly at the shoulder, and shook the left hand underneath the right arms.

This evening we were entertained with the Shawanees dancing much in the same manner as was performed by the Wyandots, but the assembly was vastly larger. After they had gone through several of their common dances they prepared for a war dance. The Shawanees have a variety of dances; but the most pleasant one is their social dance, as it is interpreted. As many young men as please, form a ring round the fire, move, dance and sing love songs; the girls looking on for some time—at length they rise one after the other, as the spirit moves them, and seize a partner. The couple stick to each other, dancing and performing every possible gesture, but still keep in the ring, singing and beating time to their music. Now, while busily engaged, the parties exchange some articles of dress, or other things, as a token of their regard. The girls were very fond of getting a few of us engaged in this dance. But the war dance exceeds all—it was performed at the request of the officers. Eight or ten of the most active men stripped themselves quite naked, except the breech clout, painted their bodies and faces, so as to have a horrid appearance; armed with tomahawk and scalping knife, they formed a circle, danced moderately to a mournful kind of tune for ten or fifteen minutes, gave the war-whoop, and sat down together on seats placed for the purpose. They now hung

their heads—a dead silence for a short time; one gets up, dances and capers to the music — repeats his exploits, the injuries they had sustained, urging the others to be strong, and rise and revenge themselves upon their enemies. At length they are roused, one after the other, until all get up, when they commence the most tremendous yelling, jumping and figuring about in imitation of shooting, scalping and tomahawking, exerting themselves exceedingly, until a signal is given for silence. A short speech concludes.

24*th.*—The treaty concluded at M'Intosh was explained to Bohengeehalus and his tribe, to their satisfaction.

25*th.*—One of the Shawanee chiefs died.

26*th.*—Shawanees occupied our long house in dancing every day, for ten days past. Officers and young gentlemen attending the commissioners very frequently join them. Business opened this day by an excellent speech from our commissioners to all the Indians — about four hundred present. The boundary lines, designating the lands allotted the several nations, were particularly described and pointed out on the map. They were told that as they had joined the English and taken up the hatchet against the United States, and the war having terminated in favor of the latter, and that the English, also, to obtain peace, had ceded the whole of the country on this side of the lakes to the Americans; that they, the Indians, must now look up to the Americans, and ought to be thankful if allowed to occupy any part of the country, which by the war they had forfeited; nevertheless, more perhaps than they expected would be done for

them, but they must leave hostages for their good behavior, &c.

27*th.* — Shawanees met in council house. Their head warrior, Kickwaypalathey, replied to the speech of yesterday; denied the power and right which the United States assumed; asked if the Great Spirit had given it to them to cut and portion the country in the manner proposed. The Ohio river they would agree to, nothing short; and offered a mixed belt, indicating peace or war. None touched the belt — it was laid on the table; General Clark, with his cane, pushed it off and set his foot on it. Indians very sullen. Commissioners told them it was well, that the United States did not wish war, that two days yet would be allowed to consider of the terms proposed, and six days more with provisions to return home; but after that to take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council broke up hastily. Some commotion among the Shawanees. Returned same afternoon and begged another meeting, when their old king, Molunthy, rose and made a short speech, presented a white string, doing away all that their chief warrior had said, prayed that we would have pity on women and children, &c.

Feb. 1*st.* — Treaty concluded and signed; presents delivered, and provisions furnished each tribe for six days. Five Shawanees left as hostages.

8*th.*—The commissioners, messengers and attendants, left us; returned in three boats. Wrote to Colonel Harmar at Philadelphia. Our commissioners were heartily sick of continuing so long at this place; their fare was so

indifferent for a month past, having nothing but whiskey with beef and bread. Fortunately a boat arrived two days before they determined to start, which supplied them with some liquors for their trip, and a small quantity of sugar, an article they have been out of since the rum was done. After they had prepared and determined to start up in boats, took leave of us in the afternoon, and hoisted sail. We fired a few rounds by way of a salute. They having a fine wind, and their boats, three in number, being well rigged with a sail each, soon got out of sight.

By Lieutenant Doyle, who accompanied the commissioners, I sent two returns to Colonel Harmar, one dated the 1st of January, the other the present date; they were both *inclosed in a letter* a copy of which is as follows, viz:

Colonel — We were agreeably surprised a few days after I wrote you last, with the arrival of General Clark in a small canoe. I think I mentioned his going to the Rapids with the other commissioners, and not returning with them. I likewise mentioned that the Shawanees were on their way to the treaty; it was true, but their movements were very slow, for they did not arrive until the 14th of January. Lieutenant Doyle and Mr. Rankin (one of the messengers) had set off to go to their towns, but meeting them about sixty miles distant, returned. Lieutenant Doyle's description of their march, and the mode of conduct since they arrived, confirms the character which we had of them, which is a proud, ambitious, smart nation. The young men seem to be under strict subordination to two or three old sachems. They have a white flag, which they marched in with, a drum and several other instruments of music. The pipe of peace is the most elegant I have ever seen. They have a greater command of their appetites than some other nations; as a proof, they absolutely refused receiving any liquor for some days after their arrival.

Twenty-first of January a tribe of Delawares came in. The leader's name is Bohengeehalus. It is said he is the principal warrior amongst the Wyandots and Delawares. Nothing more than an explanation of the treaty at M'Intosh was done with him.

Twenty-sixth, our commissioners delivered a speech to the Shawanees, setting forth their business, &c., and acquainting them of the country which would be allowed them. Next day a reply was made, in which they burlesqued the dividing of lands, and asked if the Great Spirit directed the Americans to cut and divide the land as was proposed; no, they did not understand that part. The Ohio, they thought, was the fittest line, and if we were satisfied, they would agree to let it remain the boundary. At hearing this we began to entertain different notions of matters, but the affair was soon cleared up. The commissioners did not attempt to touch the string which was given, and without rising, determined on an answer, which was, that if they did not agree with the terms proposed, in two days, they should then be furnished with six days provisions to carry them home, and no harm should be done them during that time; but after that take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council was not broke up more than fifteen minutes when a messenger came for the commissioners. After they had assembled, the chief took a white string and destroyed the whole of his former speech.

On the 1st instant the treaty was concluded with the Shawanees, and articles similar to those at M'Intosh were signed.

The Half-King of the Wyandots has acted meanly in the business of this treaty: he endeavored to prevent the Shawanees agreeing to our proposal, with a view, we suppose, of expecting a larger quantity of goods that he thought would be a drug on our hands; but when he found they desired peace, and were determined to agree, he then declared that he had not given an answer to the treaty at M'Intosh, nor would he give one here; but when the warm weather would come, he would then go to Congress and hear from them what was to be done with these lands. No reply was made to this. A few days after he desired a council for himself and the Delawares. When they convened, he rose and very strenuously insisted on the commissioners enlarging the country allowed his people and the Delawares. The commissioners told him that matter was settled, and they

would not make the smallest alteration. Captain Pipe, of the Delawares (who was sitting listening), rose and said, "Brothers, the Delawares are perfectly contented, they have land enough; and as a proof of our satisfaction, myself and another chief, with several young men (good hunters), will go as soon as we hear of the surveyors being out, and assist them to mark the lines, and (turning to the Half-King) you'll go too. The Half-King was so much confused he said nothing.

The Lord knows when we'll get rid of these creatures.

Major Finney does not expect to leave this place until further orders from you. He has lately received orders from Major Wyllys, dated at M'Intosh, to send him returns of the troops, and that only four rations (extra) were allowed to a complete company. The commissioners think it probable another treaty will be held next summer, somewhere to the northward of this place. They regret the misfortune of not holding this one somewhere near Detroit; however, they all clear themselves of that matter.

Our men have been kept in health with plenty of exercise; but in spring we may expect fever and ague, as the country about here is very low, and frequently covered with water.

Three privates of Captain Doughty's company and two of Captain Hart's, that were here, have returned with the commissioners.

With respect, &c.

E. D.

9*th*. — Captain Dunn had arrived the day before from Lexington, on his way to the Shawanee towns, where he intended spending winter. He took leave and set off with several of the Shawanee chiefs. General Clark left us this day for the Falls.

10*th*. — A canoe came down from Limestone, and informed us that this morning our commissioners were not more than seven miles up the river, but they had got under way early in the morning.

12*th*. — I wrote to Mr. James Parker at Lexington,

relinquishing all claims to our former connection, provided he would clear me of the obligation given Captain Parker for warrants. The bearer was Mr. West.

13*th.*—Mr. Sims passed for Fort Pitt, with whom I sent the following letter to Colonel Harmar:

COLONEL:—I forgot to mention that upon the arrival of the Wyandots, Shawanees and Delawares from White river, we were saluted by them, and having received notice of their approach and intention of firing, we, agreeably to the commissioners' request, returned the salute with three rounds of twelve men each time; and previous to the commissioners leaving the garrison to embark, Major Finney directed me to parade the company, march them down to the bank, which is about one hundred yards from our fort, and there to form, so as to present arms to the commissioners as they passed to the boats; this was done, and when they had taken leave and hoisted sail, I gave them a platoon by way of an acknowledgment.

General Clark left us for the Rapids on the 10th. He did not trouble us with much parade, neither did he take away any of our men. This last was a matter Major Finney endeavored to prevent as much as possible. There would not have gone half the number of soldiers from us up the river, only for the petty messengers who took up as much room as the commissioners, and occasioned a third boat. There were B——, M——, E——, and Mr. K——, all in constant pay at twenty shillings, three dollars, and twenty-five shillings per day, in proportion as they ranked. These men went out together to the towns, returned together, and were waiting here, when we arrived. The Lord knows what service some of them were of, for we can't imagine.

We are now clear of commissioners, messengers, Indians, and every kind of animal except five hostages. Such a sudden change makes me rather melancholy. I feel as if I ought to have gone with them; though my desire is to stay. I would be glad enough to be up, but the season is so cold, that I think the trip would be very disagreeable. I will be very thankful if you will put it in my power to go up in the beginning of

April, or as soon as convenient, and leave for a few weeks, that I might settle some affairs at Carlisle; for if we should go any farther off I shall despair.

E. D.

26*th.*—Captain O'Hara (the contractor) arrived with a large cargo of Indian goods and stores for the commissioners. He came in consequence of the dispatches sent by George White-Eyes on the 9th of January. This was a time when they expected all the western Indians. He likewise brought with him the settlements for last year's service, and two months' cash for the present, with six months' subsistence for the officers.

Captain O'Hara informs us that he lay with the commissioners the night of the 23d instant, about twenty-five miles below the Great Kanahwa; that Captain Beatty, our pay-master, was coming to this place to pay the troops the above mentioned money, but being very unwell, and having orders to return with the commissioners, he put the cash into his hands and went back.

March 1*st.*—Major Finney commenced the payment, and Captain O'Hara opened a cheap assortment of goods, which he disposed of to the soldiers as quick as they received their money.

3*d,* 4*th and* 5*th.*—After they had laid out the greatest part of their settlements for dry goods, reserving only a small share for liquor, they got permission to purchase the same, and toleration to get drunk, so that it would not interfere with their duty; but this charge had no effect; for three days there was scarcely one sober man in the garrison, and God knows how long they would have con-

tinued so, if the issues had not been stopped. So between the wet and dry affairs, Captain O'Hara will take nearly the same sum of money back that he brought, except what the officers received.

12*th.* — Two boats called from Fort Pitt, on their way to "O-post," loaded with liquors and flour.

17*th.* — A majority of the men in garrison are Irish. The soldiers requested to have the privilege of celebrating this day, as was customary. Accordingly the bung was opened and every man had permission to purchase and drink what quantity of liquor he pleased; and a pretty good portion did some of them take, for toward the evening we had not six men in the garrison fit for duty, not even the guard excepted.

18*th.* — G. Palfrey died from the effects of too much liquor—and was buried the next day.

20*th.* — Since our establishment at this place a few families had erected a station six miles below us, on the Kentucky side. This morning an express from them informed us that Indians had attacked two of their people, a short distance out, killed one and wounded the other. The wounded person escaped in. I took a light boat, with sergeant and twelve, hastened to the station; found the dead man scalped and cut in several places; buried him, assisted in securing the stockade, &c., and returned.

21*st.* — Mr. Bradshaw arrived about ten o'clock at night, with a boat loaded with provisions; likewise Mr. Devoire and Mr. Le Bere arrived on their way into the Indian country. Mr. Le Bere intends spending a few

weeks in the Indian towns and then return by way of Sandusky, to join his company at Muskingum.

24*th.*—This night the five Shawanee hostages deserted from their lodging, and pushed with great expedition toward the towns. They likewise took with them Mr. Sufferins' family, who were encamped about a mile distant—Mr. Sufferins being absent on a hunting party.

25*th.*—Our interpreter, Mr. Sufferins, came in; very much surprised at finding his people had gone off, and still more when hearing how the hostages had left us. This day we completed a block-house on the bank, to guard the boats.

26*th.*—Mr. Sufferins set off on purpose to overtake his family and the hostages, if possible, and to know the reason of elopement. But after riding twenty miles, only arrived at the place where they lay the night before. The distance he thought they might be in front of him, at the rate they had gone, discouraged him from pursuing any farther, and he turned back with the intention of preparing to go to their towns.

27*th.*—We were surprised by the arrival of Mr. Abner Dunn, an old officer, who had been to the Shawanee towns. He arrived with five Indians (Shawanees) and six white prisoners. Mr. Dunn informed us that their chief, with the six prisoners, had halted about five miles off, being doubtful of the manner in which they would be received, having the night before sent two runners with some tobacco for us to smoke until their arrival, and to get leave for their friends, the hostages, to go and meet them; but when the runners came and could see

no hostages they retired undiscovered, and informed their people, which alarmed them; however, Mr. Dunn prevailed on five of them to go in with him and the others to remain until he would send for them. The Indians soon found us to be friends, and sent for the remaining party. After they had all arrived, the White-Horn, their chief, seemed much astonished at the conduct of the hostages. Two speeches were delivered by Johnny Harris from Molunthy, their king; one of them consisted of professions of friendship, &c., the other was information respecting some parties of Cherokees that were out.

30*th.*—Major Finney delivered a speech to the Indians and sent a message to their king, thanking him for his information respecting the Cherokees, after which they marched off. The night preceding, a girl and boy of the prisoners that were delivered up yesterday, eloped.

31*st.*—This night Corporal Thompson and John Geary deserted, and took off one of our best boats.

April 1*st.*—Sergeant Wilcox pursued the deserters.

2*d.*—Captain O'Hara and Mr. Smith left us for Fort Pitt.

4*th.*—Mr. Dunn took leave for the Falls.

Copy of a Letter to Colonel Harmar, dated 31*st March*, 1786.

Sir—The Shawanees have been very slow in executing their business respecting the delivery of the prisoners. They overstayed the time agreed on better than a month; their delay, and an account from the station a few miles below (since evacuated), of five Indians attacking two men of the place, killing one and wounding the other, we suppose frightened off the hostages; for on the night of the 24th of March the whole of them eloped, and we have not heard from them since. But fortunately, two

days after there came in two chiefs with six prisoners, whom they delivered up, with a speech from their king apologizing for the delay, &c. We don't apprehend any danger from the Shawanees immediately, but there is now a number of others in the woods for war, that makes our situation rather unsafe. They have killed at Limestone and near the Falls — the last which I have mentioned above, was about four miles distant.

Captain O'Hara arrived here on the 26th of February with the arrearages of pay and clothing for the men who were in service last year; in six months notes and two months for the present in cash, and the same with six months subsistence for the officers. He brought with him a pretty assortment of goods suitable for the soldiers, which he let them have at reasonable prices. I believe he will take back all the notes and cash (which are the same to him), except what the officers received. I mentioned in a letter some months ago that the commissioners had made a compliment to Major Finney of cloth for over-alls for the men. Since, there has some alteration happened or otherwise it was a mistake in me, for as they went up the river they met Captain O'Hara near the Great Kanahwa, and turned the account over to him. He has charged each man that had them with his price.

There was a letter received from Mr. Armstrong, (to which he put his title, Lieut. 1st A. R.) for the purpose of acquainting us of his promotion.

Colonel—as I stand next on the list, am induced to beg your interest to fix me clear of the censure of a number of my friends. For certain it is that I have in some measure lessened, having once served as an officer a grade higher, and that at a more honorable time than at present. But the attachment I have to a military life, and the expectation of rising, persuades me to this duty, hoping that my friends, yourself in particular, will assist me in procuring a lieutenancy — what I once had the honor to hold under you.

I shall ever endeavor to render satisfaction for your assistance in this very material affair, as well as for many past,

While I have the honor to subscribe myself, &c.

E. D

N. B. Sent a return of the troops with the above.

23*d*. — Captain Blue-Jacket, a chief of the Shawa-

nee nation, came in. He informed us of the good intentions of his people, and that a number of them would hunt this summer near this place, and would bring in the skins; begged that we would receive the Shawanees friendly. As a proof of his friendship, and that we might be assured the nation wished for peace, he left his son, a boy about eighteen years of age, to continue with us until some opportunity would offer for sending him home.

24*th.*—He took leave, and as he went off said he would go by a hunting camp where there were a number of Indians, and inform them how desirous we were to see them come in to trade.

25*th.*—In the evening there arrived two young warriors of the Shawanees, with a white boy, a prisoner, whom they delivered up to us; and after receiving a few presents, and being asked if they did not think the boy would run back again, they candidly told us, that he certainly would, if not bound or confined some way. This was enough. Though the boy seemed fond of having it in his power to go to his father's, but yet it was all affected; for in a few hours after a boat came along, bound for the Falls, in which he was put, and in a manner by force; for when he found there was no way of escaping he cried, and appeared to leave the Indian with more regret than he could have done if they had been bearing him away a prisoner from his mother.

26*th.*—Our friends, the warriors, left us, and took with them Blue-Jacket's son.

May 14*th.*—We have Shawanees with us every day.

The most of their hunting men are now in the woods around us, at the distance of twenty miles. They intend bringing their peltry to barter at this place. Several of the boys, and even one young woman of the prisoners, made their escape and returned to the Indians. The chiefs who have been in, particularly the White-Horn, say they never mean to break the chain of friendship that now subsists between the Americans and them, and threaten vengeance upon the first who infringes upon the articles of the treaty.

18*th.* — From a letter sent by Major Finney to the commanding officer at Fort M'Intosh, requesting a reinforcement of men at this post, and from several late reports of troops being on their way to us, we prepared a small boat and set out up the river, intending to sail two or three hours for amusement, at the same time thought it probable we might meet them. We had got about four miles, and halted at a spring, when we were very agreeably surprised hy the arrival of Captain Ziegler's company of seventy men—Lieutenant E. Beatty, Doctor Allison, and the Major from Connecticut, Wyllys, commanding.

22*d.* — I received orders to prepare to go on command to the Falls of Ohio.

23*d.* — Set out with sergeant, corporal and twelve men in a barge, for Louisville. River very full. Landed next morning at the place—distance said to be one hundred and fifty miles—run it in twenty-four hours. Four Kentucky boats, which passed Fort Finney the day before I left it, were attacked at the mouth of Kentucky

river by the Indians on both sides of the Ohio, supposed to be in number two hundred — fortunately no other damage than a few horses killed. Very alarming accounts of the depredations of Indians in neighborhood of Vincennes — a settlement on the Wabash. Every day fresh accounts of mischief done in the upper counties and on Cumberland. People of Kentucky talk of an expedition against the Indians on the Wabash. Four days I remained at the Falls, and every day there were accounts of men being scalped between that and the upper counties. General Clark informed me that he had frequent intelligence from the different posts on the Mississippi and Wabash, which he took from the British last war, and that if something was not done immediately respecting that country, there will be much more difficulty in subjecting them than there ever was.

After many altercations between General Clark, myself and the two gentlemen who had the artillery in charge, they agreed I should have a piece, with a few shot, which I immediately had put on board.

28*th*.—Having procured a brass three-pounder, with a few boxes of suitable shot, left the Falls; embarked again for our Fort. River very high, and obliged to work up close along shore, giving the savages every possible advantage. This evening, about seventeen miles up, we discovered two bark canoes lying on the bank, and a number of trees barked, which we supposed had not been done longer than two days. We passed on as silent as possible. This night our cable and anchor

served to keep us in the middle of the river; but the river rose so high it was of no more use afterward.

30*th.* — About a mile below Kentuck we discovered some appearance of an Indian camp, and saw a black horse with a belt on. We passed the mouth of Kentuck in the night, and lay near a mile above.

31*st.* — We met with such strong water below and above the Big Bone, that we were obliged to drop the oars (though we worked fourteen,) and pull up by the bushes; lay this night five or six miles above Big Bone. We arrived safe at the Fort, near the Miami, in the afternoon, and were received with gladness.

June 1*st.* — Several Delawares came in, who seemed surprised at the field-piece which I lately brought from the Falls, and at our additions to the Fort.

11*th.* — Captain Pipe's brother, with three other Delawares, arrived with a speech from Pipe, the purport of which was, that he hoped we still held the chain of friendship fast, that was made between them and us, at this place, and informing us, that for his part, nothing should be wanting which was in his power to keep the Delawares and the Americans upon the most friendly footing, and begging we would treat his young men (a number of whom were hunting near us) as we have hitherto done.

13*th.* — Mr. Sovereign came in with the Shawanees with a speech from Molunthy, informing us that he was very glad to hear we treated his young men so friendly, and apologizing for the delay in delivering up the pris-

oners. He says the nation is divided; that the people of Chillicothe will not hear reason; they will not give the prisoners up. In fact, the plain English of which is, that a party of them are as much inclined for war as anything else, from the d——d lies imposed on them by British emissaries. They are fully of the opinion that their king and sachems have sold both land and warriors, and are determined not to agree to what has been done. Molunthy gives us information of four men being killed by the Mingoes, on the waters of the Muskingum. He says that he has advised the Mingoes and Cherokees to be quiet, but they would not hear him. He desires us to have patience. He is striving all he can to fulfill the promises made to our chiefs at the council fire.

14*th*.—Mr. Sovereign returned homeward with a speech to Molunthy, informing him that we still kept the road open, and hoped he would soon send in the prisoners; thanking him for the intelligence he sent, and begging he would endeavor to persuade his contentious people to listen to reason, otherwise the consequence would be fatal; we would wait with patience for a time, until he would fulfill the promises made to our chief at the great council fire, &c.

15*th*.—Major Wyllys left us in a small boat bound up the river, with whom I sent the following letter to Colonel Harmar, with an inspection return:

Sir — After the arrival of Major Wyllys and Captain Ziegler, I was ordered to the Falls to procure and bring up a field-piece, with ammunition, &c. I got a brass three-pounder, with about thirty rounds only of ball and grape-shot. And if it had not been for General Clark, who has

always been our friend here, I should have returned as I went, owing to a contentious set of men in civil office there, all of whom are candidates for something, and were afraid would be censured by the public for giving any of the military stores away, at a time when their country is suffering by savage depredations. True it is, that everywhere below us, the Americans have as much reason to be engaged in an Indian war as they ever had. They are daily losing men in the lower part of Kentuck settlement; all which aggravation could not unite the people in a sufficient body to carry on any kind of an expedition—such is the division amongst them.

I brought from the Falls, and delivered to Major Wyllys, all the intelligence I could collect, amongst which are the particulars of two skirmishes which the Americans at St. Vincent had with the Piankeshaw Indians in that neighborhood.

Some Shawanees and Delawares went with us as usual, professing much friendship. The arrival of Captain Ziegler's company has added much to the appearance of this place, and something to the other company. For since, a better spirit of emulation has subsisted, which has been of service. Captain Ziegler tells me the regimental book for last year was left at M'Intosh, and not used very well by the officers last winter; I am sorry for it, but hope you will get it. My coming away from that place in such haste occasioned several neglects; I even forgot my Bible with you.

We long to see you. With respects, &c.

E. D.

26*th.* — Captain Doyle arrived from M'Intosh; he informed us of the arrival of Colonel Harmar and lady at M'Intosh.

July 4th.—This day was celebrated with three rounds of small arms and three with the field-piece, after which the gentlemen all dined together. When dinner was over thirteen toasts were drunk, each accompanied with a round from the three-pounder, attended in the intervals by two drums, two fifes and a couple of excellent

violins. The evening was spent as well as circumstances would allow of.

5*th.*—Captain Beatty and Mr. M'Dowell left us, having been ordered, by Colonel Harmar, to go up immediately after the arrival of Mr. Doyle. With Mr. M'Dowell I sent a letter to Doctor M'Dowell, desiring him to ask Colonel Harmar for permission for me to go up, &c.

13*th.*—Major Finney received a letter from General Clark, informing him that on the 1st of August he intended marching into the Indian country, with fifteen hundred men, and requested that the field-piece which I brought up might be sent down against that time.

17*th.*—Corporal Thompson, Gairy, and two other deserters, were brought in by three men from Lexington, by whom Major Finney received an account from Colonel Patterson of orders being arrived from the State of Virginia to the County-Lieutenant of Kentucky country, directing them to plan and put into execution an expedition through the Indian country immediately. It is thought General Clark would command.

Captain Armstrong arrived with the boat and men which Major Wyllys took away. He brought a letter from Colonel Harmar to Major Finney, in which there was an order to send up Ensign Denny, for the purpose of acting as adjutant—to repair to a new fort at the mouth of Muskingum, called Fort Harmar, where the Colonel, with Mrs. Harmar, had arrived.

23*d.*—Embarked about noon, in a swift boat, with corporal and six choice men; rowed six oars. River in

good order. Anxious to make a quick passage. Had provisions for several days cooked, and boat fitted for anchoring in the stream, &c. Reached few miles above Little Miami.

24*th.*—Met the water rising.

25*th.*—Reached Limestone about same time of the day we left the Fort; this is coming at rate of forty miles a day. Stayed and cooked.

26*th.*—Work along. River risen five feet.

27*th.*—In the evening pass the Scioto river.

28*th.*—Within a few miles of Sandy. Water falling.

29*th.*—Pass Sandy and Guyandot.

30*th.*—Helped forward by a violent storm of wind and rain, directly up the river; reached Great Kanahwa.

31*st.*—Lay by drying our things and cooking.

August 1*st.*—Got within a few miles of Letart's Falls. Water rising rapidly. Met Mr. Le Bere in the evening.

2*d.*—Passed the Falls and anchored ten miles below Flin's Station.

3*d.*—Passed the Scotch Settlement and Flin's, and lay in sight of Little Kanahwa.

4*th.*—In the morning arrived at Muskingum, Fort Harmar, where I met with Colonel Harmar and a number of acquaintances. Here I was received as a brother officer might expect. Though I was ordered up in haste, yet I had some hopes of getting a furlough to go to Philadelphia, as I had not been absent during our service. Having hinted in a letter to Colonel Harmar, before I left the Miami, that a short furlough would be very acceptable and knowing, that if he could with any kind

of propriety grant it, he would, I deferred asking. Next day after my arrival he proposed a furlough; I thanked him and accepted it. But as I had no non-commissioned officer from the Miami, he thought it best to send my boat back under the care of Major North and Captain Beatty, just arrived and on their way to the Miami, and to take a passage to Fort Pitt with Mr. Bradford, who was to start on the 10th instant. Fort Harmar is unfinished. Doughty's company from New York, Heart's and Strong's from Connecticut, are here and at work.

9*th.*—Major North and E. Beatty got under way.

10*th.*—Received a furlough for two months; took passage with Lieutenant Bradford, who was ordered to Pitt for artillery, stores, &c.

16*th.*—Arrived at the mouth of Little Beaver; found Mr. Hutchens and the old surveyors encamped there. Hamtramck's company, from New York; Mercer's, from New Jersey, and M'Curdy's, of Pennsylvania, escorting the surveyors.

17*th.*—Reached M'Intosh. Captain Ferguson's company here. Here Mr. Bradford had business, which would detain him a day. Major Finney and myself having no time to lose, agreed to walk to Fort Pitt, thirty miles distant, knowing that when the boat did move, it would take her two days, as the water was very rapid.

18*th.*—We breakfasted with my old friend, Captain M'Curdy, and set off for Fort Pitt. I tripped along after Major Finney exceedingly well, for near two-thirds of the way; but having been confined so long to my boat, and not accustomed to walking, I got much

fatigued; however, we reached Fort Pitt about two o'clock, P. M., where we refreshed ourselves upon a tolerable dinner and a glass of claret.

August 22*d.* — I received my mare, left in care of Mr. Duncan, in miserable order.

23*d.* — Left Fort Pitt in company with Mr. James Sample. The weather being favorable, we traveled very agreeably together as far as Shippensburg, where we arrived on the 28th.

29*th.*—I got to Carlisle. Time short—staid a few days. Left Carlisle for Philadelphia, at which place I arrived on the 8th September.

Sept. 12*th.* — Having completed my business, I parted with my friends, James Campbell and several other acquaintances, and left Philadelphia, with once more my face turned toward the western country.

13*th.*—Got to Carlisle.

20*th.* — Left my friends at Carlisle.

25*th.* — Arrived at my uncle, John M'Clure's, on the Monongahela, seven miles above Pittsburgh, where I left my mare, saddle and bridle, for further use.

26*th.* — Went in canoe to Pittsburgh, where I met Major North and Captain Beatty, just arrived from the Falls of Ohio, where they left Major Finney and Captain Ziegler with their companies.

30*th.* — Left Fort Pitt in the boat in which North and Beatty came, and proceeded to Muskingum, at which place I arrived the 3d of October, in the morning.

Fort Harmar, *Oct.* 3*d.* — John Pratt, formerly Lieutenant and Quarter-master in the 4th Pennsylvania reg-

iment, had originally been of Connecticut, came out now as one of the officers of that State, and appointed Quarter-master, myself announced as adjutant. Strong, Pratt and Kingsbury belonged to one company and formed a mess; I was invited to join them. Very pleasantly fixed.

10*th.* — Captain Doughty and Captain Strong left us with leave of absence until spring.

15*th.* — Captain Tunas, a Delaware Indian, arrived with information that the different nations of Indians from the Wabash, who had collected at the Shawanees towns with a determination to visit this country, had returned home; that one hundred and twenty Shawanees, Mingoes and Cherokees had left Wapotomeky with intention to strike the people on the Ohio; that but few of the Shawanees continued; the greater part of them were in the Kentucky country, scalping and stealing horses. He says Captain Brant, a civilized Indian, had been at Sandusky this summer, but his business was not known. Mr. Johnston, the British agent, had asked all the red people to Niagara; that the Shawanees and a number of other nations had gone, but not any of the Delawares; that Johnston told them they would be no people in a short time, if they did not unite. They should all be one people, and what they did, either to make peace or war, would then be strong.

Nov. 13*th.* — Three men arrived from Limestone, who had been with Colonel Logan against the Shawanee towns. They informed us that Logan left Limestone the 6th of October, marched with eight hundred men in six days, to the Shawanee towns, where he found some men

and a number of women. The warriors had all set out to meet General Clark, who was marching with fifteen hundred men toward the Wabash, and only a few sachems remained at home with the squaws. Colonel Logan destroyed all their towns, killed and scalped eleven Indians, amongst whom was the king Molunthy, and carried twenty-eight Indian women and children prisoners to Danville, where they were kept in confinement. The old king was tomahawked after he had delivered himself up. Logan found none but old men, women and children in the towns; they made no resistance; the men were literally murdered.

15*th.* — Left Fort Harmar in a light boat, a sergeant and twelve men; arrived at Fort Pitt the 22d.

24*th.* — Rode to Hannahstown, accompanied by Mr. Brison. Viewed several farms and tracts of land in Westmoreland county, belonging to Colonel Harmar, property which he got with Mrs. H.

Dec. 5*th.* — Was ready to return, but the heavy snows and frost had filled the river with ice.

9*th.*—Ohio frozen over in many places. Monongahela and Allegheny both passable on the ice.

13*th.*—Had several days of soft rainy weather. Rivers broke up. The rise of water was sudden. Several boats loaded with goods, &c., carried down with the ice passed Pittsburgh. An attempt made to save them, but fruitless. We had great difficulty to preserve our boat.

16*th.*—Ohio pretty clear of ice. Loaded our boat and sailed for Fort Harmar, where we arrived on the 19th, in the morning. In my absence, Lieutenant Pratt, the

Quarter-master, attended to the ordinary duties of adjutant, but much left undone. Regimental book opened, monthly returns of the regiment, &c., to be made out and transmitted to the War Office.

Fort Harmar, *Mouth of Muskingum River, Jan.*, 1787. —No change of movement of any consequence. Officers and men in close quarters. Officers pass and repass up and down to the several posts. Ferguson's company of artillery at M'Intosh. Hamtramck, M'Curdy and Mercer had put up quarters, after the surveying was over, at a place which they called Fort Steuben, about thirty miles below M'Intosh. Doughty, Strong and Heart with their companies at Fort Harmar. Finney and Ziegler's companies had evacuated Fort Finney and erected a small work opposite Louisville. One other company, commanded by Captain Burbeck, of New York, stationed at West Point.

Receiving and digesting the monthly returns of the troops at all these different posts, was a business of some trouble. Those from the post commanded by Hamtramck less difficulty with. Colonel Harmar thinks him one of his best captains.

Feb. 4th. — Mr. M'Dowell arrived on his way to the Rapids of the Ohio. Fortunately there came with him a supply of provisions for the troops at Fort Harmar. For upward of thirty days past they had been on half allowance of flour, with whiskey only one-half their time.

8th.—Major Wyllys and Mr. M'Dowell left us for the Rapids.

19*th.* — Captain Heart and Lieutenant Beatty arrived from Fort Pitt. The latter brought with him near two months pay and three months subsistence, chiefly in paper money, and likewise part of the annual allowance of clothing for the troops. The money being a particular currency of one State only, the officers at this post (Fort Harmar) objected to receiving it; for though it might answer their present purposes, being in the neighborhood of the State, yet it might be setting a precedent for others, which would be very injurious. Several days spent in deliberating upon the receiving this paper money. Sometimes it was in contemplation to send it back; again they would conceive it more to their advantage to keep it. However, as the Colonel had some business up the river, he postponed the payment until (we suppose) he would consult the officers up the river. Accordingly he, Beatty, Pratt and Mr. Spear set off the forenoon of the 25th.

25*th.*—This afternoon we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Major Finney from the Rapids, after a passage of seventeen days to this post. The Major being on the way to visit friends down the country, he only tarried until next morning and set off up the river in hopes to overtake Colonel Harmar.

March 6*th.*—Mr. Lakesang called, being on his way to the Rapids of the Ohio. He continued over night. By Mr. Lakesang I forwarded to Major Wyllys three hundred hard dollars, and a receipt for thirteen hundred dollars, left with me by Beatty to be sent by the first

conveyance (Captain Heart witness). By the same boat, and under Mr. Lakesang's care, I sent the proportion of clothing for the troops at the Rapids, and likewise a new rifle, complete, for Lieutenant Doyle, with a number of letters, &c.

26*th.* — Our commandant, with his suite, arrived from Fort Pitt, about seven o'clock at night, and disappointed the garrison of a little parade that was intended in receiving him.

27*th.* — Major Hamtramck arrived, having been directed by the commandant to muster the troops.

29*th.* — Muster and inspection took place, after which a few manœuvres, &c.

April 1*st.*—The Major left us, bound for Fort Steuben

10*th.*—Captain Heart ordered to proceed with his company to a place called Venango, on the Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles above Pittsburgh; there to erect a suitable work. This place had formerly been occupied by French and English troops, but burnt down.

15*th.*—Colonel Harmar, Lieutenant Beatty and Pratt, left us, bound for the Rapids. Soon after their departure, Major Hamtramck arrived, having been ordered down to command at Muskingum, owing to the Colonel's absence.

May 10*th.* — At night our Colonel arrived from the Rapids of the Ohio, to no little satisfaction of all the officers at Fort Harmar.

15*th.* — Major Hamtramck set off, accompanied by Captain Beatty, for Fort Steuben. Captain Beatty goes

on to New York to obtain a settlement for the regiment up to the first of the present year.

17*th.*—We were surprised with the arrival of Captain Strong, from Connecticut, with dispatches of very considerable importance to Colonel Harmar, from the War Office.

25*th.*—In consequence of the dispatches brought by Captain Strong, Fort Steuben has been ordered to be evacuated; accordingly Lieutenant Kersey, with sixty men, arrived here from that place. Major Hamtramck, with the remainder of the troops, are expected daily. Hamtramck promoted to Major, in room of Fish of New York, who resigned. Lieutenant Smith, captain in place of Hamtramck.

27*th.*—Captain Strong, with his company, embarked on board keel boats for the Rapids of the Ohio.

June 1*st.*—Major Hamtramck, with the whole of the troops under his command, arrived safe.

2*d.*—Captain Mercer, with part of his company, and Lieutenant Kersey, set off for the Rapids, on board two family boats that were passing down. Ensign Spear, with fifty-four men, left us this day for the surveying business.

5*th.*—Captain Smith, with his company, Ensign Sedam, with part of Mercer's company, Lieutenant Peters, Doctor Elliot and myself, left Fort Harmar to join the troops at the Rapids.

10*th.*—In the morning we joined our friends at the Falls.

11*th.*—Our commandant, with Major Hamtramck and

Mr. Pratt, the Quarter-master, &c., arrived in the barge. They bring accounts that Colonel Todd had returned from the Cherokee town on Paint creek, with three or four scalps and six or seven prisoners.

18*th.*—Water favorable. We began to send our boats and stores over the Rapids, for fear of low water. Subaltern's command at landing below the Rapids as guard. Troops wait for a supply of provisions. Some clashing between contractors. Turnbull and Marmie superseded by O'Hara and Duncan. When Bradshaw the agent is at a loss, commanding officer directs the purchase of provisions.

July 2*d.* — Strong's, Mercer's and Smith's companies cross the Ohio from their encampment opposite Louisville, march down and encamp at the landing below the Falls.

3*d.* — Finney's and Ziegler's companies crossed and encamped with the others. This evening Ferguson, with his company of artillery, from M'Intosh, and Daniel Britt, with a cargo of provisions on account of late contractors, arrived.

6*th.* — Captain Ziegler, with a command of a lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal and sixty-two privates, embarked with all the cattle and horses and a quantity of flour, on board eight Kentucky boats and two keel boats, with orders to proceed down to Pigeon creek, eight miles above Green river, and there wait for the arrival of the troops.

8*th.*—Troops embarked for Pigeon creek, one hundred and eighty miles below the Rapids.

10*th.* — Arrived in the evening at Pigeon creek, where

we found Captain Ziegler, who had arrived the evening before.

11*th.*—The cattle, horses and necessary baggage, with fifteen days flour, taken out of the boats, and the boats, with artillery, stores and heavy baggage, under command of Major Hamtramck, proceeded down the Ohio to mouth of Wabash, with orders to ascend that river and meet the troops as soon as possible at Vincennes. Troops took up the following order of march, (*see Plan*,) and proceeded by the most direct route for Vincennes, agreeably to the advice of a pilot. Columns regulated in their march by signals from the drum. Weather exceedingly warm and woods close. With heavy packs and not lately used to marching, the troops were hard put to. We encamped on a branch of Pigeon creek.

12*th.*—Marched at daylight. Woods not so thick. Crossed Pigeon creek twice, and encamped on its bank.

13*th.*—The troops march with more ease—pass through a level open country. Buffalo numerous in these woods. Several seen standing and gazing at the men, appearing to hearken to the drums. Encamped on the head waters of Pigeon creek.

14*th.*—Marched at the usual time. Fine open country until about twelve o'clock, intercepted by a thicket of plum and rose bushes, which our pilot said reached to a great distance on the right and left. Opened our way through. Some delay and disorder. Columns unable to keep their proper distances. Cattle scattered. Halted until the cattle were collected. Moved on and encamped on bank of Patoka.

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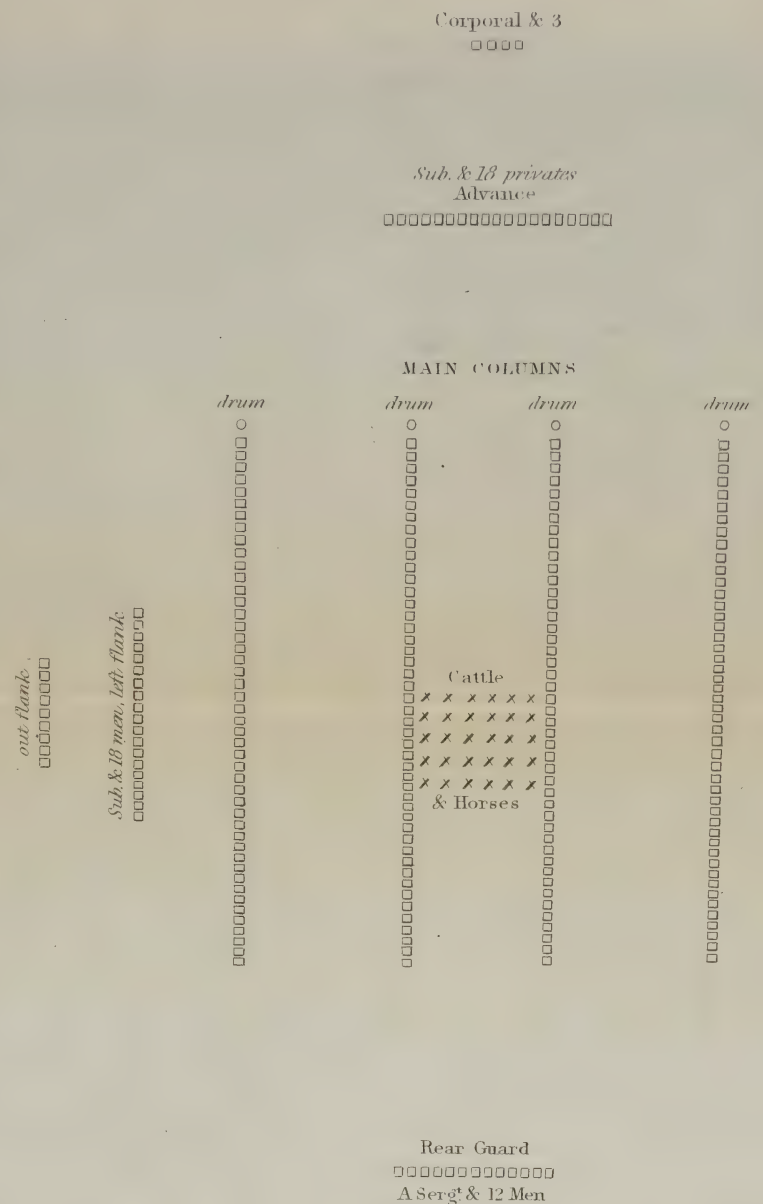
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ORDER OF MARCH,
July 11th 1787.



15*th.* — Heavy rain over night. Waited till twelve o'clock. Got on tolerably well considering our tents being very heavy with the rain. Encamped on high ground near a branch of Patoka.

16*th.* — Marched at daylight. Passed through a very fine rich open country, and arrived at White river about twelve: forded, breast high upon the men. Proceeded to the river De Shay, and encamped.

17*th.* — Took up the order of march, not until nine o'clock; moved on near to Vincennes. Met by some of the inhabitants. Halted and formed battalion, marched into the village with colors, &c., and encamped close to the American fort, Clark's block-house.

18*th.* — Moved our encampment about a quarter of a mile up the Wabash, for the sake of good water. Here we found a number of Cherokee Indians, who had fled to the French for refuge. The people on Cumberland, joined by the Chickasaws, had lately made an expedition to their towns and totally defeated them. The Cherokees were very shy of us, but being told by the French that we intended no hostilities, they rejoiced; were thankful and claimed protection.

21*st.* — The French inhabitants prepared and treated the officers to a very pretty entertainment.

25*th.* — This day Major Hamtramck, with the boats and baggage, arrived safe, excepting some few articles which could not be brought on, owing to the water being so shoal, and were left at the mouth of Wabash, guarded by Ensign Sedam and a small party of troops. This was a pleasant sight to us, as on leaving the boats we

had divested ourselves of everything not indispensably necessary. The six companies having now all assembled, they made a handsome parade. Men well clothed and well disciplined. The order and regularity observed gave the people of Vincennes a very favorable opinion of us. Our little camp, formed agreeably, in every respect, to the regulations, with the company of artillery divided on the right and left; tents new, &c., made no indifferent show. The inhabitants of Vincennes all French, except a few Americans, who found their way here since the war; but few speak English. Had on several occasions been visited by militia from Kentucky, who rather served to alienate and estrange them. They viewed us as belonging to another nation; called us the *real Americans.*

26*th.* — Lieutenant Armstrong and forty-five privates were detached with craft, to join Ensign Sedam, and assist in bringing up the whole of the stores from the mouth of the Wabash.

27*th.* — Several persons came in who had been with a party that were defeated coming up the Wabash. They informed us that the day before, just at the Grand Rapids, a party of Indians, about fifteen in number, attacked three perogues, killed three men and took four prisoners, two of whom were French, who were liberated immediately. Among the killed was a soldier of Captain Ziegler's company. One of those who made their escape, informed us that Daniel Britt, with whom we had left six soldiers at the Falls (to help him on, expecting he would overtake our fleet before it would get to the

Wabash), had passed the Wabash unknowingly, and was as low down as Cherokee river; that two of the soldiers had come up from the boat in a canoe, and being satisfied of the mistake, returned. Craft has been sent for Britt's cargo, and is supposed will proceed until they find him.

28*th.*—Two large canoes bearing white flags, appeared coming down the Wabash; they proved to be Piankeshaws, who inhabit the upper waters. Had been invited by Colonel Le Gras to come and see their friends the *true Americans.* Mr. Le Gras appears to be the chief magistrate here; sort of little governor among the French; is looked up to, and has great influence among the neighboring Indians. The Piankeshaws were timorous, having considered the Americans as their enemies. Indeed it was but last year that a formidable expedition went from Kentucky against their towns (but the principal officers, jealous of Clark, who had the command, excited a dissatisfaction among the corps, and when within a day or two's march of the Indians, broke up their camp and returned home). Some pains taken to conciliate and dispel their fear. They seemed to rejoice at their reception, expressed great satisfaction; said we were different Americans from any they had seen. They presented Colonel Harmar with an elegant calumet, and departed, intending to return and bring with them all the chiefs of the Wabash nation.

Aug. 4th.—A Mr. Vigo, a gentleman of Post Vincennes, gave the officers of our corps an entertainment. In the evening three Indian men came in, who had

been down the Wabash with Lieutenant Armstrong. They brought information that forty Piankeshaws were lying in wait, at the Grand Rapids, for Lieutenant Armstrong's fleet; in consequence of which information, Major Hamtramck, with a captain, one subaltern and fifty-eight men, set out in three keel boats to meet the fleet.

5*th*.—The whole of our boat stores arrived.

VINCENNES, 9*th*. — Colonel Harmar had informed us of his intention to visit Kaskaskia and the settlements on the Mississippi, and had directed me to detail a subaltern and twenty-eight men to accompany him. I felt a desire to see the Mississippi, and offered myself for the command. This the first time I solicited any service; others might do it, but this soliciting service was a business I disapproved. Was living with the Colonel at the time. However, he chose that I should not go. Ensign M'Dowell was ordered in his turn for this pleasant tour. They set out early this morning, accompanied by a very accomplished Frenchman, a Mr. Tardiveau. Major Wyllys, the senior officer, left to command. A Mr. Mason, with a small party, left us this day for the Falls. By him sent several letters, under cover, to Mr. Kingsbury, at the head of the Rapids, addressed to my friends in Pennsylvania. One for P. F., Philadelphia; another for Mr. Lyon, Carlisle, and one for Doctor M'Dowell, at Muskingum, all respecting my rank, &c. I likewise sent per Mr. Bradford, a letter to my friend Parker, at Lexington.

20*th*. — A gentleman from Kaskaskia arrived, but did

not meet the Colonel's party. Must have been upon different traces. Tells of two hundred Shawanees and Delawares having left their villages on the Miami and settled across the Mississippi, under protection of the Spaniards. That more were expected, as the Spaniards had given them pressing invitations.

21*st.* — An express arrived from the Rapids, with dispatches for Colonel Harmar from the War Office. By this opportunity I received a letter from Mr. Kingsbury, telling me that he had forwarded my letter for P. F. and the one to Carlisle, per Mr. Abner Dunn, through the wildnerness.

Sept. 2*d.* — A runner from the Piankeshaws informed Major Wyllys that the chiefs of the tribes invited down had agreed to come, and that he might expect them daily.

3*d.* — The Colonel and his party returned from the Illinois.

5*th.* — One hundred of the Piankeshaws and Wyohtomas appeared in great style; all in canoes, but twelve horsemen who guarded the shore. The chiefs' canoes carried white flags. On their approach they gave us three fires. We were prepared for this, and had in readiness twenty men, who returned the salute with three rounds. They all came ashore — expressed much gladness at seeing us as friends. Taking a little milk for nourishment, they set out for town to see their French brothers, giving another fire as they went off.

7*th.* — Colonel Harmar made a speech to the Indians, the purport of which was, informing them of the peace-

able disposition of the United States; that he was directed by the principal chief to take by the hand every tribe of Indians desirous of peace, and authorized to destroy those otherwise inclined. He told them that everything should be done to make them glad; that the road should be kept clear and smooth between them and us, that traders might pass freely and with safety, &c. As a pledge of remembrance of the thirteen great fires (the thirteen United States), he presented each tribe with thirteen strings of white wampum.

8*th.* — Five of the Indian chiefs each made a reply to the Colonel's speech, expressing their gladness at being taken by the hand by their fathers the Bostonians. Professed great friendship; said that they had been misled, were now sensible of their error; hoped their fathers would let all the blood which has been spilt be washed down with the river, never to be seen or thought of more. That they would stand upon fresh ground, keep the road and the stumps between them and their fathers quite smooth; and as a proof and remembrance, each presented the Colonel with a calumet and a string of wampum.

10*th.* — The old chiefs attended, expecting, as was customary, some presents. The Colonel told them that we were warriors, that we did not come to purchase their friendship with trinkets, but barely to take them by the hand if they chose to give it; if they did not, it was a matter of indifference. But, however, since things had been so well settled, he told them his warriors had a few articles, which they would give to the old men only.

The sachems returned thanks. Pleased to take what they could get. The greatest beggars I have seen yet among all the savages.

11*th.*—Two men out of fifteen who had set out on the 9th for the Rapids, returned, having been fired on near the forks of White river, by a party of Indians. From their report it is likely the greater number of their company fell a sacrifice. This story circulating through the town had like to have frightened off all the Indians who had been invited.

13*th.*—The Indians took their departure.

15*th.*—Lieutenant Armstrong, with a party of soldiers and militia, set out to meet a drove of cattle which Mr. Bradshaw, with some hands, was bringing on. Fortunately the two parties met about seven miles off, and came in the same evening. This day Captain Mercer and Mr. Britt arrived from Kaskaskia.

Vincennes, or Post Vincennes, as it is called, is said to be the most capital village in the western country. There are about five hundred souls, French, and about half as many Americans. It is handsomely situated on the left bank of the Wabash, out of danger of the floods. The village is built in the centre of a large prairie, the greater part of which is at present cultivated, but under no inclosure. A sufficiency only is inclosed for their cattle, and is in common. Their houses are chiefly frame work, and many of them covered with bark. Five or six families live on the opposite side and have little farms. The land is excellent and the country generally fine for growing. It was first settled by a Monsieur Vincennes,

near seventy years ago, from whom it takes its name It is allowed to be one hundred and seventy miles from Post Vincennes to Kaskaskia. The prairies between these two places are remarkable. One, in particular, I am told, is thirty miles in width, and near one hundred miles in length. They run north and south. They are grown up with long grass, free from brush and underwood; here and there a small copse of handsome young trees. The country abounds in buffalo, deer, elk and bear.

Kaskaskia, though more ancient than the Post, is not so extensive a village. Opposite is a settlement called Misére, where a lieutenant and five or six regular soldiers are stationed. About sixty miles above Kaskaskia is Cahokia, and opposite it, on the Spanish side, is St. Louis, where the commandant (a lieutenant-colonel) resides, with about twenty soldiers. Between Kaskaskia and Cahokia there are several small villages, some of them inhabited by Americans only, who have emigrated to that country chiefly since the late war.

Post Vincennes, 30*th*. — Orders issued for Ziegler's and Strong's companies to march next day, with the commandant, for the Rapids of the Ohio. Finney's and Mercer's companies to embark on the 3d October, under command of Major Wyllys, for the same place. Major Hamtramck, with Ferguson's and Smith's companies, to continue at the Post.

Oct. 1*st*. — Set out with the commandant and the two companies; marched to a branch of the river De Shay, supposed to be nine miles.

2*d.*—Crossed the west fork of White river and encamped on a branch,	20
3*d.*—Crossed and encamped on north fork of White river,	24
4*th.*—Reached the Great Lick,	18
5*th.*—Branch of Patoka,	16
6*th.*—Branch of Blue river,	25
7*th.*—Rapids,	18
	130

In this route we pursued General Clark's trace, made a twelvemonth ago, on his way against the Wabash Indians. First and second day passed through tolerable land; third day very indifferent, owing to the path keeping about three and four miles distant, for thirty miles up the north fork of White river, which led us through neither rich nor level land, but just across the heads of gullies leading into White river. Fourth day's march, passed over a great deal of good land, particularly near the Great Lick, which is not far distant from the road. When within a few miles of the Lick, our hunters had leave to go ahead. Presently heard the report of both their guns, and in a few minutes five buffaloes made their appearance, bearing furiously toward the head of the column. When within fifty paces, the men in front were permitted to fire; this turned the heads of the animals; they passed along and received the fire of the whole line. Three only were shot down, near the rear, where they approached within twenty paces. Fifth day's march, through pretty good land. Sixth, barren. Sev-

enth, broken with knobs and small mountains, until we got within seven or eight miles of the Rapids, when the land became level and of the first quality.

9*th.* — Mr. Wells set out for Fort Pitt, with two light boats, by whom I sent several letters; one to Esquire Lyon, and inclosed a duplicate of a letter sent from the Post to G. F., and likewise two small letters inclosed to my friends in Carlisle.

21*st.* — Major Wyllys, with our fleet, consisting of eleven boats, arrived at the foot of the Rapids.

22*d.* — Baggage brought round the Falls in wagons. The troops marched up to the fort and took quarters with us.

23*d and* 24*th.* — The men employed in dragging the boats up through the Falls.

Fort Finney, *Rapids of Ohio*, 28*th.*—Colonel Harmar received brevet commission, with pay and emoluments of Brigadier-General. He sets out for Fort Harmar. Quarter-master Pratt and myself accompany in a barge, with sergeant and fourteen men. Orders left for Captains Ziegler and Strong with their companies to follow on to-morrow. Major Wyllys, with Finney's and Mercer's companies, to continue at Fort Finney at the head of the Rapids. Got to the eighteen mile Island.

29*th*, to Kentucky river.

30*th*, Big Bone creek.

31*st*, Great Miami.

Nov. 1*st*, to the Little Miami.

2*d*, about half way between Little Miami and Limestone.

3*d*, to Limestone.

4*th*, lay still.

5*th*, twenty-two miles up.

6*th*, just below Scioto.

7*th*, thirty miles up.

8*th*, just below Guyandot.

9*th*, within eighteen miles of the Great Kanahwa.

10*th*, six miles above the Great Kanahwa.

11*th*, got five miles above the Little Falls.

12*th*, to the Scioto settlement.

13*th*, arrived at Muskingum, Fort Harmar, after a passage of sixteen days—one other day we spent at Limestone.

20*th*. — Lieutenant Beatty arrived from New York, with some pay for the regiment.

21*st*. — Ziegler's and Strong's companies arrive and take quarters for the winter. Doughty's company we had left here. M'Curdy's, which had been employed through the summer escorting the United States surveyors, was here also.

24*th*. — Alexander Parker and Mr. Dunn arrived on their way to Kentucky, by whom I received several letters from my friends at Carlisle and a box of linen. Parker and Dunn left us the same day, not wishing to lose good weather and high water.

Dec. 6*th*.—Captain Ashton, who had come to this place with Parker and Dunn, set out for the Falls.

10*th*.—Lieutenant Beatty set out again for New York for more cash.

12*th*.—Mr. Jacob Melcher, a candidate for the vacant

ensigncy in the Pennsylvania quota arrived; with whom came John Siddon, a man enlisted for one year to serve as a ranger, and who had been taken prisoner on the Wabash the 26th July last. At the time he was taken, he received a slight wound on the hip. The Indians carried him to their farthermost town on the Wabash and adopted him in a family, where he continued to live peaceably. When an opportunity offered for his escape, he left them and passed through several Delaware towns without any interruption, and arrived safe at Pittsburgh.

25*th.*—The river Ohio bound fast with ice.

Jan. 1*st*, 1788.—The weather continues exceedingly cold.

5*th.*—The thermometer sixteen degrees below zero. Horses, &c., crossed the river on the ice.

20*th.*—The river broke up—much ice floating.

Feb. 4*th.*—The weather intensely cold; the mercury down to fourteen degrees below zero. A messenger arrived from Captain Pipe, with a friendly talk, requesting that the roads might be kept smooth and clear for the Delawares to pass and repass.

24*th.*—The navigation had been shut or interrupted by ice since 20th December last. To-day we had the first arrival. Colonel Blaine, his son James, and Mr. C. Wilkins, all old acquaintances of the officers, came just from Fort Pitt. Very glad to see them. Mr. Wilkins continues here, with a store of goods suitable for the troops.

March 7*th.*—Colonel Blain and his son left us and set out with Mr. Spear, who was ordered to the Rapids to bring up the commissioners' goods, to be in readiness for the intended grand treaty.

8*th.*—Captain Pipe and his tribe came in.

9*th.*—Although the time, for which the men now in service were enlisted, does not expire until midsummer, yet, to provide recruits and to have them out in season, it was thought advisable that a few officers should go to their respective States for that purpose. Accordingly Captains Ziegler and Bradford (the latter in place of Doughty, promoted,) and Lieutenant Pratt, the Quartermaster, all volunteering this service, set out.

17*th.*—Mr. Schuyler pursued the recruiting officer with some dispatches which had been forgotten.

April 6*th.*—Left Fort Harmar, in company with the General and Daniel Britt, the contractor, on board a barge with twelve oars.

7*th.*—Rained all day. Got to the fourth island on the reach.

8*th.*—Fine day, with wind. Lay just below Fish creek.

9*th.*—The river still continues to rise. Had the water remarkably hard. Got to Grave creek.

10*th.*—The water began to lower. Arrived at Wheeling about eleven o'clock, when Mr. Britt took horse to go by land to Pitt.

11*th.*—The river falling fast. Got to Edgington's.

12*th.*—A fine wind. Lay half mile above Beckar's Fort.

13*th.*—Got to M'Intosh early in the evening, where we tarried all night.

14*th.*—With extreme hard work we got to Fort Pitt.

15*th.*—A rainy morning; the water began to rise.

16*th.*—A fine day. 17th, the same. 18th, cold rain.

19*th.*—Blustering rainy weather.

20*th.*—A considerable quantity of snow fell. The rivers up to a considerable height; the weather exceedingly cold.

21*st.*—The weather moderate and the water falls.

22*d.*—Some rain, and windy. 23d, fine day. Water falls slowly.

24*th.*—Rained in the morning. Cloudy.

25*th.*—Wet and disagreeable day. 26th, rain all day.

Sunday, 27*th.*—It was the General's intention to spend a day or two here, and proceed up the Allegheny river to Fort Franklin (formerly Venango), but a continuation of heavy rains and consequent high water, induced him to delay for a more favorable time; but unwilling to be absent too long, we set out with high water, and rising. This day we passed seven islands, and gained fifteen miles.

28*th.*—Had severe thunder, with rain. Passed eight islands and several lodges of Indians near Kiskiminitis. Lay five miles above the mouth of that river.

29*th.*—Clear and cold. River still rising. Passed seven islands, and encamped a mile above Mahoning.

30*th.*—Last night the contractor's boat, from Venango, passed down on its way back to Pitt; had a passage of fifteen days up. Very hard water to-day. Passed two islands; gained twenty miles.

May 1*st.*—Current this day very rapid. Passed Stump creek and six islands; made about twenty miles.

2*d.*—Passed a creek on the east side about nine o'clock. Eleven o'clock passed another, and about half after three

another of considerable size, on the west side, supposed to be Sandy. Five islands this day, and rain from morning till night.

3*d*. — About eight o'clock this morning, after passing one island, we entered the mouth of French creek. The fort stands half a mile up. Several miles below we were discovered by some Indians, who cut across and gave notice to Captain Heart of our approach. The arrival of General Harmar was announced with seven rounds of a six-pounder from the fort. Very kindly received by the Captain and Lieutenant Frothingham, at the head of their command. The company reviewed and dismissed. Spent the day in examining Captain Heart's work, viewing the adjacent country and the old fortifications of the French and British. There is a fine flat of good land here, altogether on the lower side of French creek, sufficient for several farms. The only flat land from Mahoning or Mohelboteetam, up. The hills come in close on the opposite sides, both of French creek and the Allegheny river, and I am informed that the country for at least five miles in all directions, is very much broken with hills and rocks. Captain Heart's Fort, or Fort Franklin, as it is called, is built precisely after the one which had been erected by the British, called Venango. It is a square redoubt, with a block-house three stories high, in the centre; stands better than half a mile up French creek, upon very good ground; but the situation, in my opinion, by no means so eligible as that of old Venango built by the English. This last work stood upon commanding ground pretty close to the bank

of the Allegheny, half a mile below French creek, and a mile from Fort Franklin. The cellar wall and huge stack of chimneys of the block-house, are of stone, and yet quite entire. The parapet and some other parts remain perfect, and the whole work might have been rebuilt with half the labor and expense of that built by Heart. The only reason the captain could offer for taking new ground, was the convenience of timber. The French, who made the first establishment here, chose the ground several hundred yards below where the British built. They had a small stockade fort; some remains of it are yet to be seen. But around the British work there is everything to be seen which was not consumed by the fire — ditches and parapets, stone walls, &c. Several handsomely disposed gardens, walks, &c., very visible, and a few fruit trees remaining still; some garden roots, &c., particularly the parsnip, in considerable abundance.

We see a number of the Senecas here. The Senecas, who inhabit the banks of the Allegheny, some three or four day's journey above this, are frequently here. They bring their peltry and exchange it with the traders for such articles as suit them. We saw several families of them; all appeared indolent, dirty, inanimate creatures; most so of any Indians I had seen.

4th. — Left Fort Franklin at five o'clock. Allegheny river flowing brim full; current not less perhaps than six miles an hour. We worked twelve oars steadily. Had two extra hands that afforded some relief; and except about an hour, which was taken up in whole in

eating, and a little time spent on an island, we lost no time. Arrived and landed at the fort on the Monongahela side precisely at eight o'clock—fifteen hours passage. After leaving the mouth of French creek, there appeared little else than hills and rocks and rugged looking ridges until as low as Mahoning, or what was originally called Mohelboteetam; from thence the bottoms increased on one side or the other until we reached Pitt. Some very beautiful situations and tracts of land, indeed; old Kittanning a delightful one.

7*th.*—Accompanied General Harmar on horseback on a visit to his lands in Westmoreland county. Made nearly the same tour I had done last winter was a year. Returned to Pitt on Sunday, the 11th.

13*th.*—Visited my uncle John M'Clure's family, nine miles above Pitt, on the Monongahela; spent a very pleasant day. Two or three gentle acquaintances were along; they were formerly from Carlisle. A very respectable portion of the society of Pittsburgh are from that place, and this circumstance, no doubt, tends to attract and to create the social intercourse and very great harmony which prevails among them.

15*th.*—A Mr. White, member of Congress, and some gentlemen of Pittsburgh, accompanied the General in the barge, on a visit up the Monongahela to Braddock's Field. We viewed the battle ground. Saw several small heaps of bones which had been collected, with a little brushwood thrown over them. The bones of the poor soldiers are still lying scattered through the woods,

but the ground where the heaviest of the action was is now under cultivation.

17*th.* — Lieutenant Beatty, our pay-master, arrived from New York with cash for the troops.

20*th.* — He set out for Venango by land, escorted by five soldiers. After paying that post, he will return to Pitt to proceed with us in the barge to Fort Harmar.

23*d.*—General Arthur St. Clair, lately appointed Governor of the Western Territory, arrived at Pitt. He has been expected for some time. Had dispatched messengers to the Indian towns to invite them to another treaty. Accompanied by the Governor we took another road to Braddock's Field, and visited the remains of poor Braddock's soldiers. On our return I saw my uncle's family.

27*th.* — The messengers returned from the Indian towns, inform us that no assemblage of them can be had for two or three months. The Governor returns to Ligonier, where his family reside.

28*th.* — General Harmar, Mr. White and myself embarked for Fort Harmar, at which place we arrived about twelve o'clock on the night of the 29th. Here we found Spear and Melcher, two subalterns of the regiment, and Mr. Ephraim Blaine. They had landed a few hours before us. Spear and Melcher, on their way from Vincennes, below the Falls, were fired upon by a party of savages in ambush on the bank, close up which the others were rowing. Two men only were killed. It is a matter of astonishment, that when the Indians do attack our boats in this dastardly way, from the very great ad-

vantage they have, that the men in the boats are not all destroyed. There have been too many instances this spring of our people being fired on, but the loss inconsiderable to what it might have been. Preparations are making for another grand treaty. Government have directed it. Our commandant thinks it all idle business. One-half will come in, sign articles and receive presents, while the others are killing, scalping and doing us every possible damage they can.

An association of persons in the New England States, having made a purchase from the United States of a tract of country extending along the Ohio about one hundred and fifty miles, and back perhaps thirty, had formed themselves into a company known by the name of the Ohio Company. A number of the proprietors and directors elected had come on and fixed upon the ground at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, as a central situation from which they could extend their operations, and at the same time be protected by the garrison of Fort Harmar, which was situate on the other side of the Muskingum. These men from New England, many of whom were of the first respectability, old Revolutionary officers, had erected and were now living in huts immediately opposite us. A considerable number of industrious farmers had purchased shares in the company, and more or less arrive every week. A spacious city is laid out here, called Marietta, in honor of the Queen of France. About half a mile up the Muskingum, upon very commanding ground, the site of a very ancient and very extraordinary fortification, was erected a place of

arms and security, called Campus Martius. Building put up of hewn timber, two stories high, forming an oblong square, with strong block-houses in each angle, leaving a considerable area; here their stores, &c., were lodged, and some families perhaps more timid than others, reside, but generally both men and women appear enterprising. Generals Parsons and Varum, two of the company's directors, were also territorial judges. Mr. Symmes, the other judge, was the principal agent in the purchase of another tract of country, including the Miamis.

8*th.*—Jane Beatty arrived from Fort Pitt.

9*th.*—Armstrong embarked for Fort Pitt.

13*th.*—Ensign M'Dowell, with a party of soldiers, set out to escort Mr. Duncan, the provisions and stores intended for a treaty, to the Falls of Muskingum.

June 15*th.*—Major Doughty embarked in the barge for Fort Pitt. His design is to accompany Governor St. Clair to this post.

July 4*th.*—The officers of Fort Harmar were entertained on the point (Marietta side) by the Ohio Company. Heard a very suitable oration delivered by Judge Varum.

8*th.*—Captain Bradford and Lieutenant Ernest arrived from New York, where they had been sent to recruit. Their Legislature not having taken up the requisition of Congress for raising the regiment, these gentlemen were obliged to return without effecting their object.

9*th.*—The arrival of the Governor of the Western Ter-

ritory (General St. Clair) was announced by the discharge of thirteen rounds from a six-pounder. The garrison turned out, and troops received him with presented arms.

13*th.* — About a month since, Ensign M'Dowell, with a command of thirty men, escorted boats with provisions, &c., to the Falls of Muskingum, about seventy-five miles up, where the intended treaty was to be held. We are informed by express that his party were attacked in their camp yesterday by a party of Tawas; that his picket guard was routed; two soldiers only were killed and one missing. A black servant of Mr. Duncan was killed. The Indians were repulsed with the loss of one killed and left behind.

14*th.* — This evening a party with a craft was sent up the Muskingum to bring off Ensign M'Dowell, command, &c. The treaty, if any, determined to be held at Fort Harmar.

15*th.* — Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, and one of the directors of the Ohio Company, had reached this with the ordinance of Congress respecting the government, and with the commissions for the several officers. The people convened on the point; military officers invited over. When assembled, the Secretary read the law and the appointments. Those people appear the most happy folks in the world; greatly satisfied with their new purchase. But they certainly are the best informed, most courteous and civil to strangers of any people I have yet met with. The order and regularity observed by all, their sober deportment and perfect

submission to the constituted authorities, &c., must tend much to promote their settlements.

16*th.* — Lieutenant Ford, who had been stationed at Fort M'Intosh, arrived with his party. He is to proceed to Post Vincennes to join his company.

17*th.* — Lieutenant Beatty embarked with part of Ford's command for the Rapids.

20*th.*—Ensign M'Dowell returned. By his address before he left his camp, had managed to get hold of six of the fellows who had made the attack upon him. They were brought down bound, and confined under the garrison guard. They called themselves Tawas and Chippewas.

28*th.*—Two of our Indian prisoners made their escape from the guard. Four of the soldiers had been conducting them, as was usual, to the necessary which stands outside the fort. Those within are used only after night. A corn patch adjoining the necessary. The Indians had previously found that the irons on their hands and feet could be slipped off; when close to the corn, and at a moment when the attention of the guard was taken off, they slipped their shackles, leaped into the corn field, which sheltered them from the view of the sentries, and were soon out of reach.

Aug. 7*th.* — Ensign Thompson sent express to Fort Pitt with orders for Captain Ziegler, who we hear has arrived there with his company.

8*th.* — Lieutenant Ford set out for the Rapids of the Ohio; from thence he is to proceed with the pay-master to Post Vincennes.

17*th.*—Captain Heart arrived from Venango, and Cap-

tain Strong set off for Connecticut, by whom I wrote to my friend J. C.

27*th.* — Judge Symmes, with several boats and families, arrived on their way to his new purchase at the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with the General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not greatly mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman. An amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind, about to be buried in the wilderness.

31*st.* — Captain Smith arrived from New York on his way to the Post to join his company. With him came Ensign Thompson, Mr. Melcher and Mr. Brown, a member of Congress from Kentucky.

Sept. 1*st.*—Mr. Brown proceeded down the river.

2*d.* — Captain Heart and Major Doughty set out for Venango. The latter to muster the troops at that post.

9*th.* — General Richard Butler, commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania, and Captain James O'Hara, the contractor, with Cornplanter and about fifty Senecas, arrive. They were escorted from Pitt by Captain Ziegler's company of recruits. They were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and the music. Ziegler is a German, had been in Saxon service previous to our late war with England. Takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment; and to do him justice, his company has been always considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four-fifths of his company have been Germans. Majority of the present are men who served in Germany.

Fort Harmar, 11*th.* — Mitchell arrived express from

the Falls, by whom we learn that Lieutenant Peters with a command of thirty men, had been defeated near the mouth of the Wabash. Eight of his men were killed and ten wounded. That one boat loaded with provisions fell into the hands of the enemy. That Mr. Peters retreated down the Ohio, and was making for Kaskaskia. By the same express are told that Captain Hardin, from Kentucky, had conducted thirty active woodsmen (militia) into the Indian country about the mouth of the Wabash, and it was supposed had fallen in with the Indians who defeated Peters; that he had returned to the Falls with thirty horses taken and ten scalps. Messengers arrive from the Indian towns. Say the nations in grand council had agreed to attend the treaty. Saw the young men return daily with scalps.

12*th*.—A singular occurrence took place to-day in sight of the fort, between two of the Seneca Indians. Both among the best looking men, and duly sober, met, drew their knives and fought until both sank under their wounds. It seems that they had formerly lived together as brothers. One of them, a married man, was obliged to go on a mission to some distant nations, and unable to take along his wife, left her in charge of his friend, who was to provide for and protect her. When the husband returned he found that his poor frail wife had been left in care of a savage. She was seduced and carried out of the nation. He bore this with manly fortitude, but resolved if they ever met, one of them must die. It seems that they had a knowledge of each other coming here, and were prepared for the meeting and for what

took place. The fellow who had eloped with the woman came last from the Shawanee towns, where it is said he lately killed a girl for refusing to comply with his wishes.

14*th.* — A messenger arrived from the Indian towns with speeches, &c. They report that all the nations will attend the grand treaty as soon as possible for them to arrive. That they had been counciling at the Miami town, where they had agreed on the above; at the same time scalps were daily brought in by the young men.

15*th.* — Mr. Ernest and Mr. Wilkins set out for Fort Pitt, the former with orders to relieve Lieutenant Schuyler, who is stationed there. By the latter I sent a letter to my sister Nancy, and inclosed a bank note of twenty dollars.

21*st.* — Lieutenant Armstrong arrived on his way to the Falls.

22*d.* — Lieutenant Kersey, with forty-eight Jersey recruits, and Ensign Hartshorn, with twenty-nine from Connecticut, arrived.

29*th.* — Major Doughty arrived from Venango, where he had been sent to muster Captain Heart's command. With him came Major Alexander and several other gentlemen.

Oct. 4*th.* — Captain M'Curdy, with Ensign Hartshorn and cadet Morgan, and about forty men, were detached to escort the geographer to the Scioto river.

13*th.*—Doctor Knight joined the regiment in character of a substitute for Doctor Sumner, who had occasion to remain at home longer than his furlough specified.

One of the two savages mentioned on the 12th Sep-

tember as having fought respecting a woman, is found drowned in the Muskingum. It is said the tribe generally wished for his exit, and that some of them must have been the instruments of his death. Every possible attention was paid by the Senecas, as well as by the surgeon of the garrison, to the husband. His life was despaired of. The other totally neglected, an outcast, left to shift for himself, to dress himself; a small portion of victuals sent daily from the fort, and left in his reach where he lay near the bank. Notwithstanding, and contrary to the expectation and wishes, was recovering and able to crawl about, when now, a month after the fight, and all hopes of his death having ceased, he is found drowned in the Muskingum. Some one or two of his nation had in the night dragged him down the bank and put him in the river. From the appearance of the ground being torn up where he lay and along to the water's edge, he must have made considerable resistance.

19*th.*—General Gibson, a commissioner on the part of the State of Pennsylvania, arrived from Fort Pitt. He and General Butler are appointed by the State to treat with the Indians, particularly the Senecas, and to make them compensation for a tract of country lying on Lake Erie, and including Presqu' Isle, which the State has purchased of Congress.

20*th.*—Notwithstanding the treaty was solicited by the savages, it is doubtful whether the chiefs will come in or not. A late message from them says, that they have been informed by good authority, that we have poisoned the whiskey which we intend for them; and infection for

the small pox has been put in the blankets to be presented them. This message, with the daily accounts of mischief doing in some quarter or other, seem to indicate as if they had no mind to treat. Three canoes arrived last night from Limestone, brought accounts that Lieutenant Armstrong's boat was fired on near the Scioto; that one of his men was shot through the cheek. The Indians have lately killed a soldier in the vicinity of the fort at the Rapids, and not content with scalping him, cut him in four quarters and hung them up on the bushes.

28*th.* — G. W., a trusty Indian messenger who had been sent to the towns, arrived with an account that the chiefs were preparing to attend the treaty, and might be expected in twelve or fifteen days.

Nov. 1*st.* — Captain M'Curdy, with his command, and the geographer, arrived.

7*th.*—Messengers Wilson and Rankin return from the Indian towns. With them came Captain Davie, of the Six Nations, and several others. These last are from Grand river, on the British side of Lake Erie. Brant is expected in a few days.

Dec. 13*th.* — About two hundred Indians arrive—consist of Delawares, Wyandots, Senecas, Tawas, Pottowattamies, Chippewas and Socks. No Shawanees.

14*th.*—Meeting in council house to welcome each other, &c.

15*th.*—Met in council. Treaty opened. This evening Captains Ferguson and Beatty set out, and Ensign M'Dowell arrived, who had been escorting Mr. Marten surveying up the Scioto.

20*th.*—The weather extremely cold. The river driving with ice. The Governor and Indians have had frequent meetings in the council house, but nothing conclusive yet.

29*th.*—A grand council was held. The old Wyandot chief, Shandotto, addressed the Governor in behalf of all the nations present. He began by telling their origin and how the thirteen fires had gotten possession of their country; how we had in two instances cheated them. The first, he said, was in a bargain made with them for just as much ground as an ox's hide would cover, merely to build one fire upon. The Americans cut the hide into strings and claimed all the ground they could encompass therewith. The second case was a bargain for such an extent of country, in a certain direction, as a white man would travel to and back in one day. A surprising walker was found, who went as far and back again the same day as any of their swiftest men could do in two. These, said he, were submitted to, as you were strangers in our country, and professed to be our friends, but you have gone on from one step to another, so that we don't know when you will stop. At a treaty concluded to the northward, before the late war, he said, they had given up all the country south of the Ohio river. That boundary was a very plain one. It was such as could not be altered or mistaken; there could be no dispute about it. Concluded by saying that all the nations present had determined to grant no more of the country, but were willing to abide by the treaty which established the river Ohio as the boundary line. He presented a large belt of wampum with a black stripe running through the

middle of it, representing the Ohio river dividing, &c. The Governor replied, and told them that he could not possibly make the least deviation from the treaties which had been concluded at Fort Stanwix, at Fort M'Intosh and at the Miami river. That at these treaties the several boundaries had been fixed, and were unalterable. Council adjourned. Several days pass over. Indians pow-wowing. The Ohio rising and driving with ice.

Jan. 6th, 1789.—All hands assemble again. The Governor made a speech to the Indians. Explained to them by a simile how they had forfeited their country. He supposed the Wyandots and some distant nation at war with each other. The Shawanees living between, were desired by the Wyandots to lie still, which was agreed to, but the Shawanees being of a restless disposition, and easy persuaded, took up the hatchet against their neighbors the Wyandots; notwithstanding, the Wyandots conquered their enemies, and obliged them to sue for peace, and the Shawanees' lands were given as a price for the same. Now, whether had not the Wyandots a good claim to the lands? They all agreed it was but just; then, said he, this is exactly your case, you took up the hatchet against the United States, and joined the English in the late war. The English, to obtain peace, ceded to the United States all the country south of the great lakes. He told them that they had been all summer endeavoring to meet, but it seemed to be to no purpose. The United States, he said, were much inclined to be at peace with all the Indians, but if the Indians wanted war they should have war. He told them that if they

would renew the articles which had been agreed to and signed at M'Intosh and at the other treaties, he would add another article, and allow them the privilege of hunting any where in the United States' territory, and would deliver over to them a certain quantity of goods, such as might be agreed on. Adjourned.

8*th.*—Lieutenant Pratt joined us, from Connecticut, with about seventy recruits.

9*th.*—In council once more. The old Wyandot chief, Shandotto, who spoke for all the nations present, said he was sorry the Governor talked of war. It was not long since both had felt the effects of it. For their part, they wished for no more. He said they all had a great regard for the thirteen fires, and would do everything in their power to accommodate them for the sake of peace, only hoped the line would be removed a little way.

11*th.*—This was the last act of the farce. The articles were signed.

13*th.*—The goods were given out to the different nations of Indians. The death of General Vernum, one of the judges of the territory, who was buried this afternoon, is generally lamented. The officers of the fort attended his funeral.

22*d.*—The Indians mostly dispersed. Mr. Thompson, Luce and Schuyler, embarked for the Rapids.

28*th.*—The Governor, Pennsylvania commissioners, and sundry other gentlemen attending the grand treaty, left us for Fort Pitt.

Feb. 15*th.*—Captain Bradford, with his company, embarked for the Rapids. Dr. Carmichael proceeded with

him as far as the Great Miami, there to join Lieutenant Kersey.

22*d*.—Married this evening, Captain David Ziegler, of the first regiment, to Miss Sheffield, only single daughter of Mrs. Sheffield, of Campus Martius, city of Marietta. On this occasion I played the captain's aid, and at his request, the memorandums made. I exhibited a character not more awkward than strange, at the celebration of Captain Ziegler's nuptials, the first of the kind I had been a witness to.

March 18*th*.— Lieutenant Kingsbury was sent to conduct a number of M'Curdy's discharged men to Fort Pitt.

April 19*th*.—Ensign Hartshorn detached with a party for Wheeling, where he expected to meet Mr. Ludlow, with whom he was to proceed to run the northern boundary of the Ohio Company purchase.

May 1*st*.— The Indians attack and kill a Mr. King, a proprietor in the Ohio Company, just below the Little Kanahwa, where a settlement is forming. The directors apply to General Harmar for a few soldiers for the protection of the place. A sergeant, corporal and fifteen men, detached to protect the settlement below, called Belpre, and a corporal and eight sent up the Muskingum to Wolf creek, where the people are making another settlement.

5*th*.—The commission of first Lieutenant, which ought to have been sent me last year, was received but to-day. It is dated 28th of March last; the detention occasioned by a claim of Mr. Spear for the same appointment.

Spear had filled a vacant ensigncy twelve months after our appointments, but having been an older subaltern in the Revolutionary war, thought he was still entitled to the right. Our State, where the appointments originate, decided against him. This evening Lieutenant Ford, with Captain Mercer's company, arrived from Vincennes. Captain Mercer and Lieutenant Peters came also, on their way home

28*th.* — Two parties of a corporal and nine men each were detached to escort the surveyors of the Ohio Company in running out certain ranges upon the river, and to the extension of the purchase westward. They took two men and provisions.

June 4*th.* — Lieutenant Kingsbury, Mr. Tupper and myself set out in a small boat with four men, to visit the settlements made by the New England people on donation lands, called Belpre settlement. We got down about one o'clock — found everything appeared as well as industry could make.

5*th.* — We embarked and returned up within seven miles of the garrison. Landed and struck off on a west line, and at the distance of one mile, got upon Mr. Kingsbury's one hundred and sixty acre lot, and mine, which adjoins his. We found mine to be tolerably good land, having a branch of the Little Hockhocking running directly through it. A great deal of poplar, walnut, locust, cherry, shellbark hickory and black oak. Returned to the boat and got home about dark.

9*th.* — Ensign Hartshorn and his party returned from escorting Mr. Ludlow, the surveyor, who was running

the northern boundary of the Ohio Company purchase. They completed the business without the least molestation.

9th.— Major Wyllys, Ensign Sedam and Dr. Allison, arrived from the Rapids on their way to New York.

28th.— A young Delaware came in with information that George Washington was wounded by some person in ambush, on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. They are willing to lay it to Brant's people, but at the same time think the mischief done by militia from Wheeling.

July 7th.—Major Doughty joined us from New York.

14th.— Captain M'Curdy and Ensign M'Dowell came with forty-four recruits—good looking fellows.

Aug. 9th.— Captain Strong, with his two subalterns, Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn, and a complete company of seventy men, embark for the Miami.

11th.— Captain Ferguson joined us with his recruits. Major Doughty follows Captain Strong for the purpose of choosing ground and laying out a new work intended for the protection of persons who have settled within the limits of Judge Symme's purchase.

21st.— A corporal and six men escorting surveyors of the Ohio Company, attacked by the Indians. The corporal only escaped.

Sept. 4th.—Ferguson with his company ordered to join Strong in erecting a fort near the Miami. Lieutenant Pratt, the quarter-master, ordered to the same place.

14th.— At a meeting of the agents of the Ohio Land Company, a tract of land lying at or near the mouth of

Tyger's or Kyger's creek, on the Ohio, about four or five miles above the Great Kanahwa, was granted to an association of thirty-five proprietors, formed for settling the same; each to have one hundred acres at least. The 1st September, 1790, is the time allowed for commencing the settlement. Captain Beatty and myself are of the association.

22*d.* — Captain Heart, with his company from Fort Franklin, arrive here.

Nov. 10*th.* — The General intends removing to headquarters very shortly, to the new fort building by Major Doughty, opposite the mouth of Licking creek. Had hinted that a short furlough would be very desirable before I went lower down, and if I could be excused from the regiment, would proceed to Philadelphia, and complete some business of his and of the officers of the Pennsylvania quota. I had, in the absence of quartermaster, performed both duties of adjutant and quartermaster. Mr. Pratt I always found ready and willing. On this occasion he volunteered, and I obtained a furlough until 1st May. Embarked in a twelve oar boat with Doctor Scott.

11*th.*—Lay near the upper end of the Long Reach.

12*th.* — Met a rise of water, and got one mile above Sunfish.

13*th.*—Rainy weather. Lay all night at Mr. Mahan's, seven miles below Wheeling.

14*th.* — Deposited with Esquire Zeens sundry articles found with Rogers (drowned), to be sent to his wife at Marietta. Got to Carpenter's at Short creek.

15*th.*—High water. Lay one mile above Holliday's Cove.

16*th.*—The river continued to rise. With hard work we made Dawson's, opposite the mouth of Little Beaver, about eight o'clock at night.

17*th.*—As we turned up Beaver creek, to go to the block-house two miles up, where an officer and party is stationed, we met General Parson's canoe, with some property, floating down. Found the old gentleman, in attempting to pass the Falls, about five miles up, was cast out and drowned, with one man who accompanied him. Judge Parsons was esteemed a useful, enterprising citizen. He had an interest in Salt Spring tract, on the Mahoning, and anxious to prove the navigation of the Falls practicable, the experiment cost him his life. It is said that his life was insured in New York.

18*th.*—Set out after breakfast and got as high as the lower end of Montour's Island.

19*th.*—Arrived at Pittsburgh about two o'clock, P. M., when to our great satisfaction we found Major Wyllys, Captain Mercer, Captain Beatty, Lieutenant Peters, Ensign Sedam and Doctor Allison, all on their way to join the regiment.

PITTSBURGH, *Dec.* 4*th.*—With Beatty, the pay-master, I had business which detained me here longer than was intended. My boat and crew were taken back by these officers. Got upon the road this afternoon.

12*th.*—Reached Carlisle.

Jan. 9*th*, 1790.—Left Carlisle in company with Mr.

Nesbit. That evening reached the Susquehanna on my way to Philadelphia.

13*th.*—Arrived in the city after a cold and tedious ride.

26*th.*—Having settled all my business fully, took leave of the pleasing amusements of the city and got back to my friends at Carlisle on the 29th. Had been here but a few days, when a strange indisposition came on me, altogether unaccountable. Few persons have been favored with better health than I have enjoyed all my life; once only, in South Carolina was I laid up for a while. Temperance and an active life may have contributed to exempt when few escaped, but never was without a grateful sense of the favor of Divine Providence. In the present case endeavored for several days to keep up, when it was discovered that I had taken the measles, a disease very prevalent here at this time, and which it was supposed I had had. This sickness could not have taken me at a more convenient or happy time — was in the house with my mother and sisters. In the space of a couple of weeks was again about, and as soon as it was prudent to be exposed to the roads and weather, left my kind and affectionate relations, and arrived at Pittsburgh on the 22d. March.

April 11*th.* — No place appears to me more inviting than this; could willingly remain here awhile, but my furlough draws to a close, nor would I go over it one day, for a week of pleasure anywhere. Besides, I know that nothing short of unavoidable delay would do in my case. The only conveyance for one down the river is a Ken-

tucky boat loaded with flour for head-quarters. The boat and hands are put under my charge, and with three soldiers, making seven of us, we set sail.

12*th.*—Buffalo creek.

14*th.*—Land at Fort Harmar, mouth of Muskingum, a place where I had spent most part of the last two years with much satisfaction. It was now in a manner deserted. Head-quarters had been removed to Fort Washington, opposite the mouth of Licking. Spent one day with some old friends of the Ohio Company. Accounts from below that Indians are in force on the river near Scioto.

17*th.*—Reached the Great Kanahwa, where were several boats waiting to increase their force. An express had arrived from Limestone to Colonel Lewis, with accounts that the savages had attacked and taken several boats at the mouth of Scioto.

18*th.*—While waiting to enlarge our fleet, Mr. Kingsbury arrived from the Miami, by whom I received a letter from the General, but too late for me to execute his business.

19*th.*—Having examined the several boats and the people on board, the arms, &c., and made such disposition of the whole as was thought most judicious, sailed at the head of sixteen Kentuck boats and two keels. The Kentucky boats were lashed three together and kept in one line. Women, children and stock all put into the middle boats. Outside boats only manned and worked. The men belonging to each block of boats had their own commanding officer, and the whole could repair to either side as necessity might require. The keels

kept on each flank. The river is in good navigable order, and weather pleasant. The boats were enabled to keep their stations. Passed the Scioto about daylight.

20*th.*—About eight o'clock in the morning a storm of wind and rain met us. Such a one I had never before seen on the river. The boats had to be cut loose, and even when single were in danger of filling every instant. At this time were supposed to be about five miles below Scioto and close upon the Indian shore. Any apprehension from the Indians by me was forgotten; I was clear for making the nearest land, headed my boat for shore, and made the signal for the others to follow. One only obeyed the signal and landed along side of me. The rest passed and made for the Kentucky side, at the hazard of their lives. They, however, got safe, with no other damage than shipping large quantities of water. In this situation we were obliged to remain the whole day. As the sun went down the storm ceased. I fired a gun and put off—the boats all followed, and next morning reached Limestone.

Limestone, 21*st.*—Upon landing here was informed that an officer of the regiment, with soldiers, was on the opposite shore. Procured a light boat and crossed the river, where I found Lieutenant Pratt with a small party of men. He informed me that General Harmar, with about three hundred regulars and volunteers, had marched the morning before for Paint creek, which empties into the Scioto about sixty miles up, at which place it was expected the Indians who had been on the Ohio, would be found with their plunder. Here I found

that the General had calculated my time, for expecting that Mr. Pratt would see me, he had left instructions for me to proceed to Fort Washington. Parted with Pratt in the evening.

22*d*.—Arrived at Fort Washington about twelve o'clock.

Fort Washington, *May* 2*d*. — The troops returned from Paint creek, under command of Captain Ferguson. General Harmar parted with them at mouth of Scioto, and proceeded in his barge for Muskingum.

July 11*th*.—Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington from the Illinois, where he had spent part of the winter and spring in organizing the several counties in that quarter of the territory, and establishing a system of government. General Harmar had returned to headquarters some weeks since. The Governor remained with us but three days. In the mean time it was agreed and determined that General Harmar should conduct an expedition against the Maumee towns, the residence of all the renegade Indians, from whence issued all the parties who infest our frontiers. One thousand militia were ordered from Kentucky, and the Governor on his way to New York, the seat of the general government, was to order five hundred from the back counties of Pennsylvania. 15th September was the time appointed for the militia to assemble at Fort Washington.

15*th*.—The General commenced his preparations; calculations of provisions, horses, stores, &c., were immediately made out and ordered accordingly. Every day employed in the most industrious manner. Captain Ferguson, with his company, engaged in getting in com-

plete order the artillery and military stores. Indeed every officer was busily employed in something or other necessary for the expedition, but particularly the quartermaster, Pratt. No time was lost.

Sept. 18*th.* — The Kentucky militia began to come in, but not such as we had been accustomed to see on the frontiers. They appear to be raw and unused to the gun or the woods; indeed many are without guns, and many of those they have want repairing. Our artificers employed in putting to right the militia arms. General much disheartened at the kind of people from Kentucky. One-half certainly serve no other purpose than to swell their number. If the leading *patriots* of Kentucky don't turn out rascals, then some men that I know are greatly mistaken.

19*th.*—A battalion of Pennsylvania militia arrived.

22*d.*—Governor St. Clair returned from New York.

25*th.*—Major Doughty, with two companies of the first regiment, brought from Fort Harmar, joined, and also the residue of the Pennsylvania militia. These last are similar to the Kentuckians; too many substitutes. Much difficulty in regulating and organizing the militia. Colonels dispute about the command. The General, after much trouble, effects a compromise and reconciliation. Kentuckians compose three battalions under Majors Hall, M'Millen and Ray, and Lieutenant-Colonel commandant Trotter. Pennsylvania militia into one battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Truby and Major Paul. The whole to be commanded by Colonel John Hardin from Kentucky, subject to the orders of General Harmar

plete order the artillery and military stores. Indeed every officer was busily employed in something or other necessary for the expedition, but particularly the quartermaster, Pratt. No time was lost.

Sept. 18*th.*—The Kentucky militia began to come in, but not such as we had been accustomed to see on the frontiers. They appear to be raw and unused to the gun or the woods; indeed many are without guns, and many of those they have want repairing. Our artificers employed in putting to right the militia arms. General much disheartened at the kind of people from Kentucky. One-half certainly serve no other purpose than to swell their number. If the leading *patriots* of Kentucky don't turn out rascals, then some men that I know are greatly mistaken.

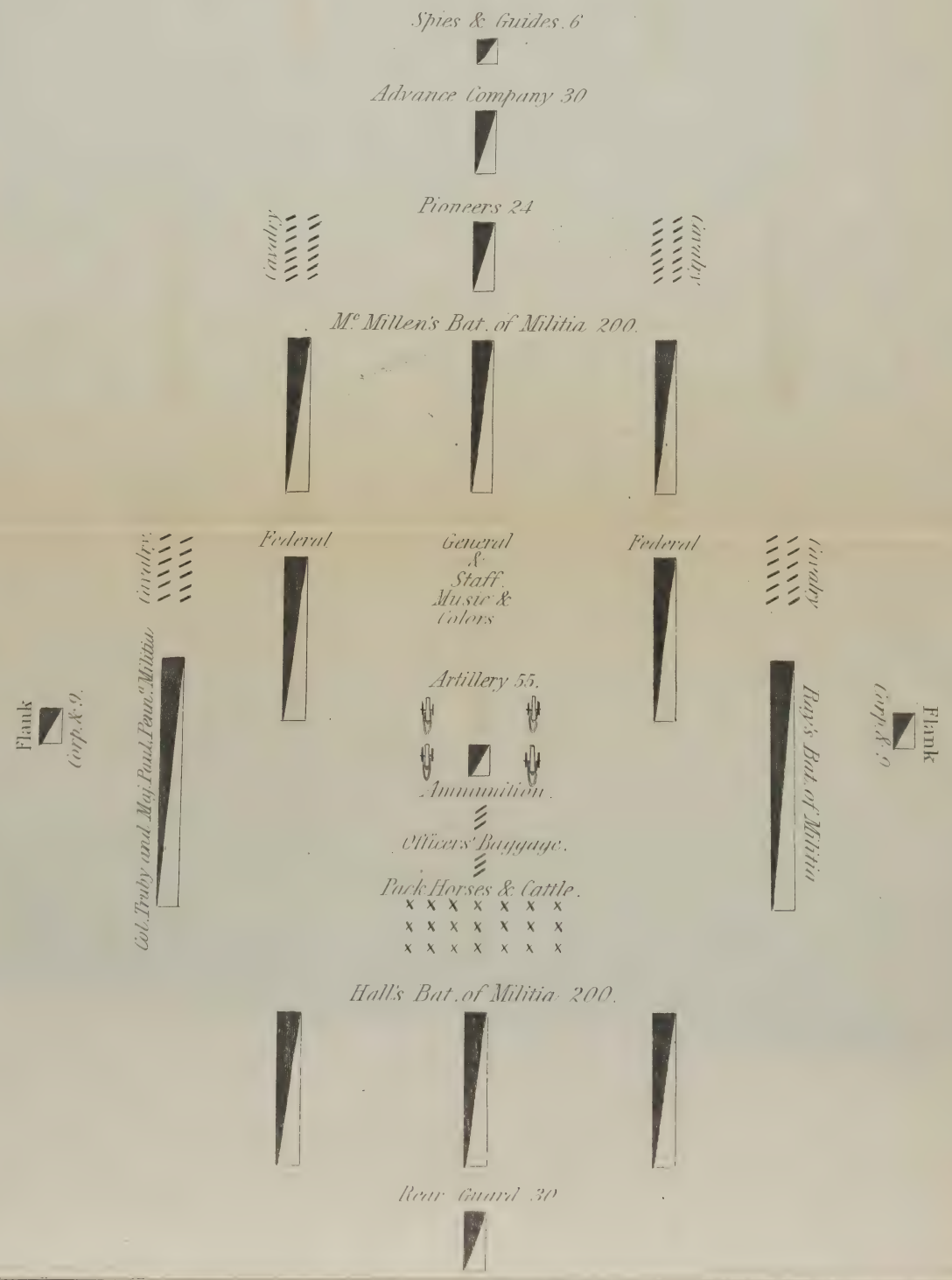
19*th.*—A battalion of Pennsylvania militia arrived.

22*d.*—Governor St. Clair returned from New York.

25*th.*—Major Doughty, with two companies of the first regiment, brought from Fort Harmar, joined, and also the residue of the Pennsylvania militia. These last are similar to the Kentuckians; too many substitutes. Much difficulty in regulating and organizing the militia. Colonels dispute about the command. The General, after much trouble, effects a compromise and reconciliation. Kentuckians compose three battalions under Majors Hall, M'Millen and Ray, and Lieutenant-Colonel commandant Trotter. Pennsylvania militia into one battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Truby and Major Paul. The whole to be commanded by Colonel John Hardin from Kentucky, subject to the orders of General Harmar

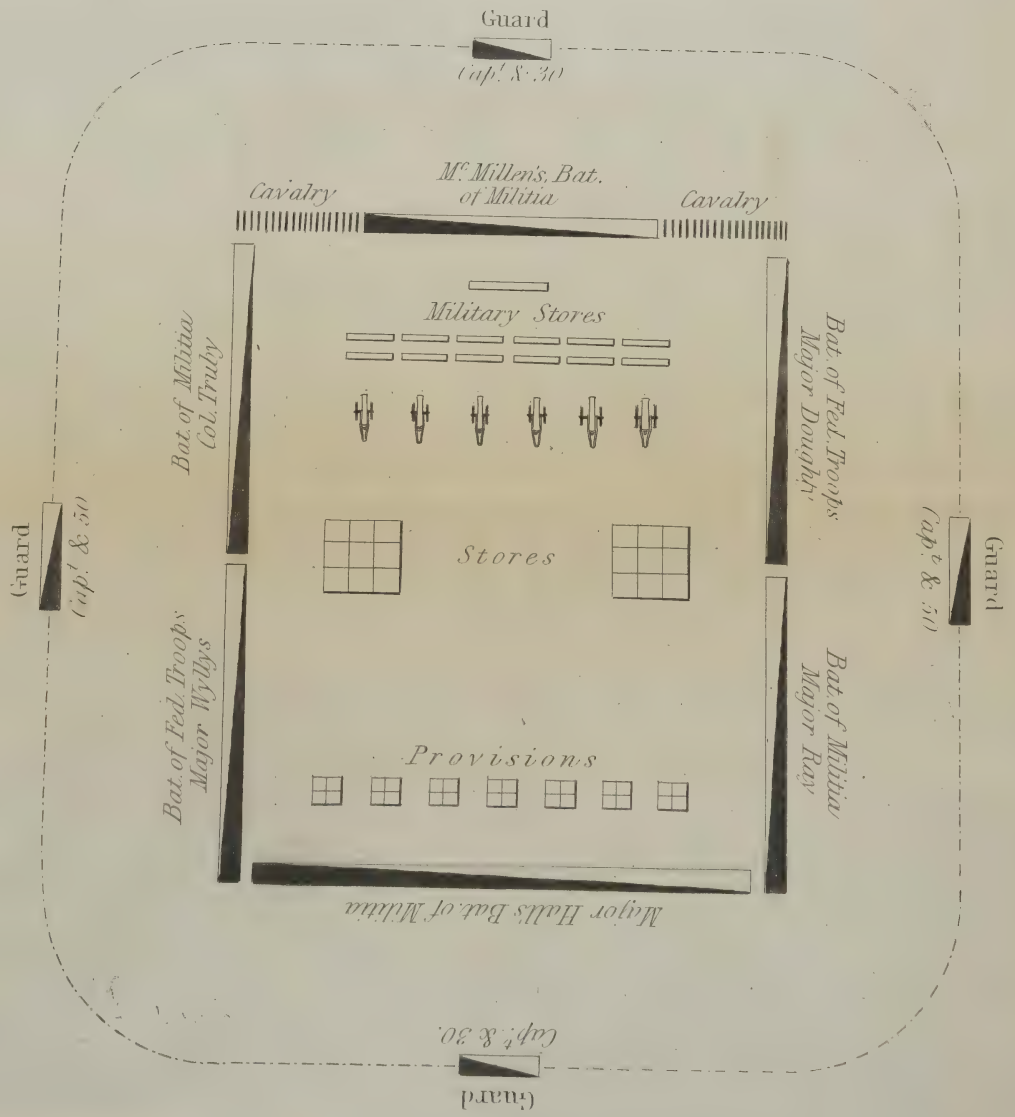
Face page 141

ORDER OF MARCH.



Face page 141

ORDER OF ENCAMPMENT





ORDER OF BATTLE.

26*th.* — The whole of the militia took the field under the direction of Colonel Hardin, an old continental officer, amounting to one thousand one hundred and thirty-three. They marched on the direct route to the Indian towns.

29*th.* — General Harmar moved out with the federal troops and joined the militia.

30*th.* — The General having got forward the supplies, moved on with the federal troops, formed into two small battalions under the immediate command of Majors Wyllys and Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery, who took along three light brass pieces.

Oct. 2*d.* — Their number three hundred and twenty. Total, one thousand four hundred and fifty-three.

3*d.* — Joined the advance troops early in the morning. Spent this day in forming the line of march, encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia officers. Major James Fontaine appointed volunteer aid-de-camp to the General. Mr. Stephen Ormsby brigade-major to the militia, and Mr. John Bellie quarrer-master. Doctor Slater surgeon to Colonel Trotter's tegiment. Encamped on waters of Little Miami, thirty-one miles from Fort Washington.

4*th.*—The army took up the line of march and gained eleven miles. Encamped on branch of the Little Miami, forty-two miles from Fort Washington.

5*th.* — Joined by a small reinforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry. The horse formed into two troops, and with the company of mounted infantry, put under

the command of Major Fontaine. The army now consists of

3	battalions	Kentucky militia,	1,133
1	do.	Pennsylvania militia,	
1	do.	light troops mounted,	
2	do.	of regular troops, -	320
		Total, - -	1,453

Much trouble in keeping the officers, with their commands, in their proper order, and the pack horses, &c., compact. Encamped this evening on Glade creek, a branch of Little Miami, about fifty-two miles from Fort Washington.

6*th.* — Passed through a beautiful open country. Encamped three miles north of old Chillicothe, sixty-two from Fort Washington.

7*th.* — Open country. Encamped on Mad river on Pickaway fork of Great Miami, seventy-one miles from Fort Washington.

8*th.*—Gained about nine miles. Encamped on waters of Great Miami, about eighty miles advance.

9*th.*—Marched at usual hour and gained ten miles. Encamped on waters of Great Miami, about ninety miles from Fort Washington.

10*th.* — Same waters. Encamp about one hundred miles from Fort Washington.

11*th.*—Encamp five miles north-west of a place called the French Store, about one hundred and twelve miles from Fort Washington.

12*th.* — Encamp about seven miles north-west of new

Chillicothe, on Grave creek, a branch of the Miami or Omee, which empties into Lake Erie, and about one hundred and twenty-five miles from Fort Washington. Half pound powder and one pound lead served out to each rifleman, and twenty-four rounds cartridges to the musquetry. Commanding officers of battalions to see that their men's arms are in good order and loaded.

13*th.* — Early this morning a patrol of horsemen captured a Shawanee Indian. Marched through a thick brushy country. Encamped on great branch of the Miami or Omee river, near the ruins of La Source's old house, about one hundred and thirty-five miles from Fort Washington.

14*th.* — Colonel Hardin detached early this morning with six hundred light troops, to push for the Miami village. This detachment sent forward in consequence of intelligence gained of the prisoner, which was that the Indians were clearing out as fast as possible, and that the towns would be evacuated before our arrival. As it was impossible for the army to hasten their march much, the General thought proper to send on Colonel Hardin in hope of doing something before they would all be able to clear out. Marched this day about ten miles. Beech and white oak land generally, and no running water. Country very flat, and appears as if at particular seasons it was altogether under water. Encamped about one hundred and forty-five miles from Fort Washington. This night the horses were ordered to be tied up, that the army might start by daylight, with a view of keeping as near to Colonel Hardin as possible. The distance

to the Indian towns this morning, when the detachment went ahead, supposed to be about thirty-five miles.

15*th.*—Every exertion made to get forward the main body. Difficult march this day over beech roots and brush. Encamped on the waters of the Omee about one hundred and fifty-three miles from Fort Washington. Horses were again tied, grass cut and brought to them that the army might not be detained next morning, as had frequently been the case; for although repeated orders were given to the horse-masters to hopple well their horses, and directions to the officers and men not to suffer them to pass through the lines, many of them, owing to the scarcity of food, broke loose and passed the chain of sentries and were lost. Patrols of horsemen are ordered out every morning at daylight to scour the neighboring woods and bring in any horses that might have passed the lines; and the pickets turned out small parties for the same purpose. The cattle, also, every pains taken to secure them. At evening, when the army halts, the cattle guard, which is composed of an officer and thirty men, build a yard always within the chain of sentries, sometimes in the square of the encampment, and place themselves round the inclosure, which secures them.

16*th.*—March through beech and swamp oak land. Met an express from Colonel Hardin, who informed us that the enemy had abandoned every place. Encamped within seven miles of the Miami village, and about one hundred and sixty-three from Fort Washington. Horses tied up again and grass brought them.

17*th.* — About noon the army arrived at the Miami village, or Maumee towns, on the Omee river, distant from Fort Washington about one hundred and seventy miles. Two very considerable branches meet here, the St. Joseph from the north-west, and the St. Mary from the south-west, which form the Miami or Omee, emptying into Lake Erie. Several little towns on both branches, but the principal one is below the confluence on the north side. Several tolerable good log houses, said to have been occupied by British traders; a few pretty good gardens with some fruit trees, and vast fields of corn in almost every direction. The militia picked up as much plunder as loaded some of them home. A great deal is found hidden and buried about, and many things left as if the enemy went off in a hurry.

18*th.* — Colonel Trotter was ordered out with three hundred men, militia and regulars, to reconnoitre the country and to make some discovery of the enemy. He marched a few miles, when his advance horsemen overtook and killed two of the savages — one of the militia slightly wounded. The Colonel proceeded no farther, marched back to camp the same evening. Colonel Hardin, commanding officer of the militia, showed displeasure at Trotter's return without executing the orders he had received, and desired the General to give him the command of the detachment. The men were furnished with two days provisions, and Hardin marched on the morning of the 19th. I saw that the men moved off with great reluctance, and am satisfied that when three miles from camp he had not more than two-thirds of his

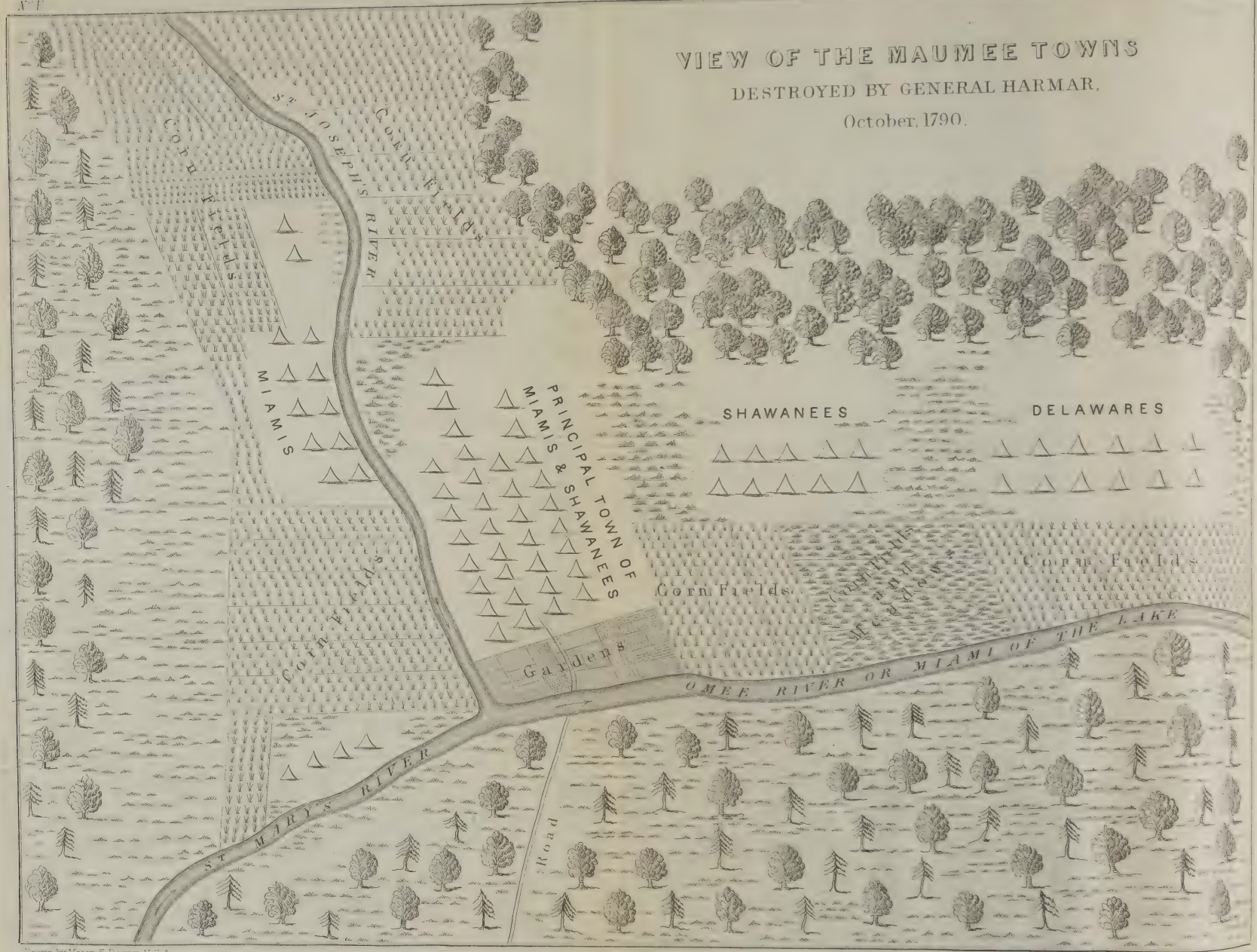
command; they dropped out of the ranks and returned to camp. Hardin proceeded, and about ten miles from camp, not expecting to be near the enemy, he suddenly came upon a party supposed to be about one hundred only, and owing to the bad order of his men, and their dastardly conduct, was entirely defeated. The Indians made the first discovery, and commenced a fire at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, and advanced. The greatest number of the militia fled without firing a shot; some few, with thirty regulars that were of the detachment, stood and were cut to pieces. Of the militia forty are missing, but it is well known that very few of these were forward in the fight. The conjecture is, that most of them ran back from the rear and have pushed for the Ohio. Twenty-five of the regulars are missing. The army moved from the Miami village this morning; encamped at Chillicothe (a Shawanee town), two miles east, for the convenience of burning and destroying the houses and corn. Last night, a Captain M'Clure and M'Quircy of the militia, took a notion to trap some of of the Indians, who we suspected lurked about after night and carried off straggling horses. A short distance outside the sentries they close hoppled a horse with a bell on, and took their station in a hazel thicket but a few yards off. It was not long until an Indian stalked up and seized the horse. The captains rushed upon him, cut off his head and brought it into camp, and claimed at least the price of a wolf's scalp. Detachments employed collecting and burning corn, &c.

20*th.*—The army all engaged burning and destroying

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N° 1



Drawn by Major F. Denny U.S.A.

Engraved at J.M. Butler's establishment

everything that could be of use: corn, beans, pumpkins, stacks of hay, fencing and cabins, &c. Twelve or fifteen of the savages made their appearance this day near to one of our burning parties. Some of Major Fontaine's corps got on their flank undiscovered. A few shots were exchanged, and two of the Indians were killed, without any loss on our side.

21*st.* — The army having burned five villages, besides the capital town, and consumed and destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, took up their line of march back to Fort Washington, and encamped eight miles from the ruins.

Nine o'clock at night. — The General ordered out four hundred choice men, militia and regulars, to be under the command of Major Wyllys, to return to the towns, intending to surprise any parties that might be assembled there, expecting the Indians would collect to see how things were left. The Major marched about midnight in three divisions, at the distance of a few hundred yards apart, intending to cross the Omee as day broke, and come upon the principal ruins all at the same instant, but at different quarters. The wings commanded by Majors Hall and M'Millen came upon a few Indians immediately after crossing the Omee, put them to flight, and contrary to orders, pursued up the St. Joseph for several miles. The centre division, composed chiefly of the regular troops, were left unsupported. It would seem as if the enemy designed to draw the principal part of the force after a few of their people, while their main body attacked Major Wyllys. The centre division sus-

tained a very unequal fight for some time; they were obliged at length to give way. The few that escaped fled in the direction to where the militia had gone, and met them returning from the pursuit of the scattering Indians. The enemy followed and were met by the militia several miles up the St. Joseph; this narrow creek was between the parties; a smart fire commenced and was kept up. The Indians attempted to force their way across but were repulsed, and at length withdrew. Our parties collected their wounded, and returned slowly to camp. One of Major Fontaine's corps, who was attached to the centre division, immediately after the defeat of Wyllys, escaped to camp, and gives a very imperfect account of the business. He got in about eleven o'clock, A. M. Major Ray with his battalion was immediately dispatched to support the parties, but met Colonel Hardin returning to camp with his wounded. Hardin had been an officer in the Revolutionary war; on this expedition under Wyllys, he had volunteered his services, with a view of retrieving his affair of the 19th, and had assumed the command of the militia. He declares, as well as other officers, whose veracity cannot be doubted, that the enemy must have lost one hundred killed, besides a number who were seen carried off wounded. The federals lost forty-eight men and two officers (Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham,) in the business of this day; the militia not so many. The whole of the killed and missing of the army amounts to one hundred and eighty-three, but it is verily believed that a number of the militia who are missing have deserted, and are on

their way to Kentucky. Major Fontaine, who commanded the cavalry and was with the centre division, charged the enemy, but was not supported—his men faltered; himself far in front, was singled out and fell. The design of sending back Major Wyllys with his command, was evident to all the army, and would have answered the fullest expectations, provided due obedience had been observed on the part of the militia, but owing to their ungovernable disposition, an excellent laid plan has in some measure been defeated, and our loss is equal if not greater than the savages'. The General advised with his principal officers about returning to the towns. It was agreed not to return.

22*d.*—Continued in our encampment, fixing up biers for the wounded and making repairs, &c. The frost had destroyed the food early on our march out, and the horses of the army were now very much reduced, so much so that it was utterly impossible for the main body to perform anything rapidly, and to get back upon the road which we had so lately passed was attended with difficulty.

23*d.*—The army took up the line of march; proceeded slowly. Every attention paid to keep the men compact. Vigilance was the order of the day.

Nov. 3*d.*—Got back to Fort Washington.

4*th.*—At Fort Washington. The militia mustered this afternoon in their camp on the south side of the Ohio, and discharged by a general order; those from Kentucky to receive pay and rations up to the 10th instant.

5*th and* 6*th.*—The militia began to move off in small

parties for their homes. It was an arduous task to keep the militia in order or within reasonable bounds, at any time, but when we had gotten so far on our way home as to consider ourselves in some measure out of the enemy's country, they broke out and became altogether ungovernable. The General was under the necessity of punishing one of them for discharging his piece in presence of several officers, contrary to a special order. This fellow, it seems, is the son of a Baptist preacher in Kentucky. His officers and many of his men would have opposed the punishment, and although there was much forbearance on the part of the General through the whole campaign, I have no doubt but a hue and cry will be raised against him in Kentucky as soon as those fellows get home. If he is blamable, it is only for being too indulgent to the militia. I feel conscious of having acted my part. As the adjutant of the General, I had not only my regimental duties to attend to, but the duty of adjutant to the army, brigade-major, &c., and in most instances, when militia field officers were upon duty, had, at the request of the General, to station the guards and go the rounds. The general detail of all guards and detachments kept and made out by myself; their examination on the grand parade daily, was also my duty; regulating the march, keeping the columns in their proper places, assisting the quarter-master in keeping up the baggage, looking after and correcting accidents and delays, was no trifling employment; and every morning half an hour before daylight, agreeably to orders, it was my particular duty to see the army all under arms. However, I feel

amply rewarded. I know that I have the approbation of my commanding officer, and that is enough; but hope never to be employed in a similar situation with such *materials.*

7th. — Left head-quarters for the seat of government; passed through Lexington, the crab orchard and wilderness, and after a most inclement ride, arrived at Philadelphia the 12th December. High water and very bad roads.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 1st*, 1791. — It was expected when I left head-quarters that I would return across the mountains in time to descend the Ohio with the first spring flood. I frequently pressed for my departure, but was delayed. Congress having added a second regiment to the establishment, and at the close of the session passed a law for raising two thousand levies, or six months men, for another expedition against the Indians. Governor St. Clair appointed major-general, and to conduct the campaign himself. Captain Beatty, our late pay-master, had spent the winter in the city settling up his accounts. He and myself the only officers of the regiment at this time in Philadelphia. Beatty ordered to New Brunswick on the recruiting service. He was desirous that I should accompany him, and prevailed on the Secretary of War, who rather requested that I would assist in raising the company, after which I am at liberty to return to the regiment in any manner I please. Took the stage at three o'clock; lay by awhile at Princeton, and reached Brunswick early next day. Remained here a few days with Beatty and proceeded to New York.

Made arrangements and commenced recruiting. An excellent sergeant and corporal did the business for me. We were very successful. Recruits sent to New Brunswick weekly by the packet. Beatty ordered to march. I repair to New Brunswick; accompany him to Newton, in Bucks county, file off myself to Philadelphia; detained there three days; from thence to Carlisle, where I met Beatty, who had been joined by a new raised company from Lancaster, commanded by Captain Doyle.

July 4th.—Spent the 4th of July together.

5th.—The two companies took up their march for Fort Pitt. Stayed with my friends till the 10th.

10th.—I set out and arrived in Fort Pitt on the 15th; companies arrived a few days after. Found two battalions of the levies here; two other battalions from Virginia had sailed. Several companies of the second regiment had also gone on.

PITTSBURGH, *August 7th.*—Beatty's and Doyle's companies embark; took passage with them, but owing to the very low state of the river, did not reach Fort Washington until the last of the month. Camp formed at Mill creek, three miles out; the artillery only doing duty in the fort. Business obliged me to remain here with General Harmar, who had his family in the fort.

FORT WASHINGTON, *Sept. 1st.*—General St. Clair appears exceedingly impatient at the delay or detention of some of the corps. The quarter-master general, Hodgden, not yet come on, and General Butler, the second in command, is also back. Preparations for the campaign very backward. General Harmar seems determined to

quit the service; has positively refused going on the campaign, and takes no command.

7th.—General Butler, and Hodgden, the quarter-master general, with Captain Newman's company of the second regiment, arrive. General Harmar solicits a court of inquiry to examine into his conduct on the last campaign. The court is ordered — General Richard Butler the president. Several days spent in examining the testimony. The court make a report to the commander-in-chief, highly honorable to General Harmar. It was impossible for me not to be affected by the determination of General Harmar. I knew that he only waited for the march of the army, when he would ascend the river with his family and retire to civil life. My secret wish was to accompany him; he discovered it, and informed me that he would apply for an officer's command to escort and work his boat to Pittsburgh, and had no doubt but that General St. Clair, upon being asked, would order me on that service. I made the request in writing. Was answered that it could not be granted. I stayed with General Harmar and his family until the last moment. He conversed frequently and freely with a few of his friends on the probable result of the campaign—predicted a defeat. He suspected a disposition in me to resign; discouraged the idea. "You must," said he, "go on the campaign; some will escape, and you may be among the number."

26th. — Left Fort Washington and proceeded to join my regiment. Arrived at the army next day. Found a pleasant encampment twenty-three miles from Fort

Washington, on the Great Miami. The principal part of the troops have been at this place since the 15th, building a stockade fort with four bastions. Barracks to accommodate one hundred men.

29*th.*—Commenced my duty as adjutant, Major Hamtramck the commanding officer of the regiment. We are informed that upward of one hundred horses have been stolen, supposed by the enemy, from the vicinity of Fort Washington, some of them cut from their fastenings under the walls of the fort.

30*th.*—Appointed aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. With much difficulty finished and handed in a set of monthly returns.

Oct. 1*st.*—Joined the General's family, found to consist of Colonel Sargent, the adjutant-general, Count Malartie, a young Frenchman from Gallipolis, in character of volunteer aid, and the General.

2*d.*—Accompany commander-in-chief to Fort Washington. Three hundred militia had just reached that place from Kentucky.

3*d.*—A number of the militia are reported to have deserted already.

4*th.*—A sergeant and nine of the militia deserted last night.

5*th.*—An officer from the army arrives in pursuit of deserters. A sergeant and twenty-five deserted on the night of the 3d.

6*th.*—After some difficulty in getting the militia equipped, they march to join the army. Public dispatches forwarded to seat of government by way of Lexington.

7*th.*—Set out about nine o'clock; arrive at Fort Hamilton in the afternoon. The army had marched on the 4th.

8*th.*—We cross the Miami twenty-five miles from Fort Washington, and follow the army; their course north sixteen degrees. Passed four encampments and the militia on their march. Joined in the evening as troops were encamping. Distance from Fort Washington forty-four and one-fourth miles. The army is five days from Fort Hamilton, at the fording of the Miami, to this place (not four miles a day).

9*th.*—The army marched this morning at ten o'clock, and encamped about three; gained only five miles. The country, thus far from the Miami, level, rich and exceedingly well watered with small branches.

10*th.*—Army in motion at eight o'clock. Country more flat. Crossed a number of small rivulets running east. Timber chiefly beech. Gained about eight miles and encamped at four o'clock. The horses had been all tied up last night, which enabled an early start this morning.

11*th.*—Ten o'clock this morning before the troops took up the line of march. Horses missing, which occasioned the delay. About twelve arrived at a pretty little creek running west, supposed to be a branch of White river. Fresh trails of Indians discovered. Two o'clock came directly upon an extensive wet prairie; army obliged to halt and encamp. Marched this day not more than six miles. Country very level, well watered and timbered.

12*th.*—This morning spent in searching the prairie and examining for a passage across. General Butler with a

party set out early toward the east; myself, with a captain and fifty riflemen, to examine westerly. After proceeding about three miles we made out to cross the prairie, but with difficulty got my horse through. From this place we had a view for several miles west; the prairie rather appearing to increase. On the north side came upon a deep beaten Indian path, which we followed about two miles, turned and recrossed the prairie, examined further, could find no place possible for the army to cross without bridging at least three hundred yards. General Butler's report favorable. He found a pretty good way by going three miles round. Twelve o'clock the army marched, altering their course to north-east thirty-five degrees. Passed several small prairies, all of them swampy. Fell in with an Indian path, leading through and avoiding the wet land. March this day five and one-half miles over excellent country, watered with pretty, small runs winding about in every direction.

13*th*.—The General, with a few attendants, reconnoitres the country. Makes choice of ground to erect another fort for purpose of a deposit. The army moved about one o'clock, one mile, near to this ground and encamped.

14*th*.—Two hundred men employed, under direction of Major Ferguson, at the new fort. It is to be a square work, curtains thirty-five yards; regular bastions in each angle. The whole raised with logs laid horizontally; the face of the curtains forming the rear of the barracks.

15*th*.—Cold and wet. Heavy rain last night and continues all the day.

16*th*.—Rain all last night. Express from Fort Wash-

ington with information of the mountain leader and twenty Indians of the Chickasaw nation on their way from Fort Washington, and also of sixty horse loads of flour.

17*th.* — The new fort goes on but slowly. Weather very bad; constant rain night and day. A rifleman of the militia, a few miles from camp with leave to hunt, fired upon by a single Indian and wounded through the hip, but made his escape into camp. Men desert; four of the first regiment went off since our arrival here.

18*th.* — A continuation of wet, disagreeable weather. The army would have been without bread after to-day, had not a small supply of forty-eight horse loads arrived.

19*th.* —All the horses of the army, quarter-master's as well as contractors, sent back for a supply of flour. Unpardonable mismanagement in the provision department. Troops put on half allowance of flour. Colonel Oldham, commanding officer of militia, directed to furnish an escort to go back with the horses. His men declare if they are sent on that duty they will not return. Falconer's company of levies escort the horses back.

20*th.*—The time for which the levies were enlisted begins to expire. Ten were discharged this morning; several a few days ago. The levies from Virginia claim their discharge. All of Captain Hanah's company from Alexandria, discharged. An express this day from Fort Washington. Captain Buel's company of the second regiment had arrived there from the eastward.

21*st.*—Very severe frost last night; ice upon the waters near a half inch thick. The food of our horses and cat-

tle had been injured by slight frosts as early as the 4th. A strong guard escort the cattle and horses to the best pasture, and every afternoon one-half the army off duty turn out and bring grass from the prairie to serve them over night.

22*d*. — For want of sufficiency of flour, the General has been under the necessity of keeping the troops upon half a pound of that article daily, but the ration is made up of beef. This, however, would not satisfy militia; twenty of them deserted last night, and some more this morning. An officer near Lexington, who joined us this day with about sixty men, happened to meet those who went off this morning, and brought them back. He informed us that a number of the militia who had deserted from Fort Washington, and on the march, had been apprehended in Kentucky and were confined in the jails. Two brigades of horses loaded with flour arrived this day, estimated at one thousand eight hundred pounds; also a small drove of cattle. The quarter-master general is ordered to Fort Washington to make some more certain arrangement with regard to supplies of provisions— the contractor not to be depended on.

23*d*. — Two artillery men attempted to desert to the enemy, were taken, tried and sentenced to suffer death; were hanged along with one of the levies for shooting his comrade. The country for ten miles round has been well explored. Many large wet prairies, especially to the west. Upland thin, covered chiefly with white oak. Fine springs which feed the prairies. Any quantity of meadow ground—natural meadow.

24th. — The army took up their line of march about nine o'clock. Pursued the old Indian path leading north through a fine open woods. The soil and timber of a superior quality. Gained six miles and encamped along the bank of a handsome creek running east; a large prairie on our left.[1] A captain's command left at the new fort, called Fort Jefferson, with all the men unable to march. The commander-in-chief has been unwell for some time past, but to-day scarcely able to accompany the army.

25th. — Rain almost all last night. Troops continued encamped.

26th. — Remain encamped. A party of fifty militia sent to reconnoitre the country north-west, fell in with five of the enemy about fifteen miles from camp, but owing to mismanagement, the Indians made their escape, leaving behind in their camp, blankets, tomahawks, paint, &c., to the value of twenty-two dollars. An express from the quarter-master general, respecting provisions. The commander-in-chief very ill.

27th. — The army wait for a supply of flour to enable them to proceed. The last pound served out this day, and should none arrive, on to-morrow the men will be without bread. Much dissatisfaction among the militia and levies; the latter claim their discharge; say they have served longer than the term for which they have enlisted. The enlistments are indeed somewhat extraordinary; they specify six months after assembling at the rendezvous on the frontier, but there has been no uni-

[1] This camp called afterward by Wayne, "Greenville."

formity observed; some corps have inserted Winchester, some Fort Pitt, and others Fort Washington, but the bulk of the men say and declare that they engaged to serve but for six months from the date of their enlistment. These circumstances have been made a cause of complaint to the General, who has had much trouble. Piamingo and nineteen Chickasaws join the camp. The season so far advanced it will be impracticable to continue the campaign. Forage entirely destroyed; horses failing and cannot be kept up; provisions from hand to mouth. A party of men engaged in throwing a bridge over the creek in front of the camp. Some hail and snow to-day.

28*th.* — Seventy-four horses loaded with flour arrive; about twelve thousand pounds. This supply will afford four days' allowance to the army. A few horses came loaded with clothing for the first regiment, the officers of which were directed to fill up their companies, if possible, from the levies. The new clothing has a good effect; near forty have already enlisted. Two privates of Major Butler's battalion were fired upon about three miles from camp, one of them killed, the other wounded, but made his escape to camp. Two of the militia some miles out, were pursued by four Indians; one only got in, it is supposed the other is a prisoner, as the savages endeavored to catch him when they might have shot with certainty. In the general orders of this day the troops directed to be under arms at the first tap of the drum, which is to be given at daylight, and to continue paraded until dismissed.

29*th.*—One of the sentries which form the chain round the encampment, alarmed the troops last night about nine o'clock, and put them all under arms. He imagined that he saw an Indian, and fired three times at some object. The first and second regiment of regulars compose about one-third the army, and although chiefly recruits, are tolerably well disciplined, but the remainder (excepting the few militia,) being levies and raised but for six months, and their times expiring daily, they take great liberties. This morning there was a constant firing kept up round the camp, notwithstanding it is known there is a general order against it; in fact, at present they are more troublesome and far inferior to the militia. A bridge thrown across the creek. One hundred and twenty men, properly officered, were ordered forward to open the road for the army. Two hundred militia go as a covering party. Piamingo and his nineteen warriors, accompanied by Captain Sparks of the levies, with four riflemen, set out on a scout; their object to take a prisoner. The battalion of levies from the territory south-east of the Ohio being so small, it was blended with the one from Virginia. Supernumerary officers went home. Three days flour issued to the troops in order that horses may be had to carry the baggage; most of the baggage horses having been sent with the quarter-master general for provisions.

30*th.*—The army took up the line of march about nine o'clock, crossed the creek upon the bridge, and left a very handsome encampment. The creek which runs along in front of this ground, twenty-five yards wide, is said to

be a principal branch of the Miami. Gained seven miles this day; course north-west twenty-five degrees. The soil and timber of a superior quality. The General has been so very ill since we left Fort Jefferson, that it was supposed he would not be able to proceed.

31*st.*—A very unpleasant camp in the woods; soil rich and timber thick and heavy. Last evening had a gust with severe lightning and thunder; directly after night the wind rose and blew violently until daybreak. The trees and limbs falling around and in the midst of us, with the darkness of the night and in an enemy's country, occasioned some concern. About twelve o'clock at night, for the first time, at the request of the General, I visited all the guards.

Army continued encamped, waiting for several brigades of pack horses loaded with flour, which had reached Fort Jefferson last night. The troops are supplied for to-day and to-morrow, and the contractor has enough for one other day; but should we move, the supply behind would be too late or lost; besides it was found yesterday that the horses with the army were not sufficient to carry the baggage, part of which had to be left on the road. The tents and other baggage sent back for and brought up. Militia show great impatience; their officers appear to have little influence. One-third turn out with a determination to go back, a few are prevailed on to stay; between sixty and seventy, however, march off in despite of everything, and swear they will stop the pack horses with provisions. The first regiment dispatched after them, not with an expectation of bringing them back, but with that idea and

to prevent future desertions, and principally to protect the convoys. This evening two hundred and twelve horses, loaded with flour, arrived; one hundred and fifty pounds the average weight.

Nov. 1*st.*—The army remain encamped. A party advanced to open the road. Prepare for marching to-morrow. A deposit made here of heavy articles and such as could be dispensed with, to lighten the horses.

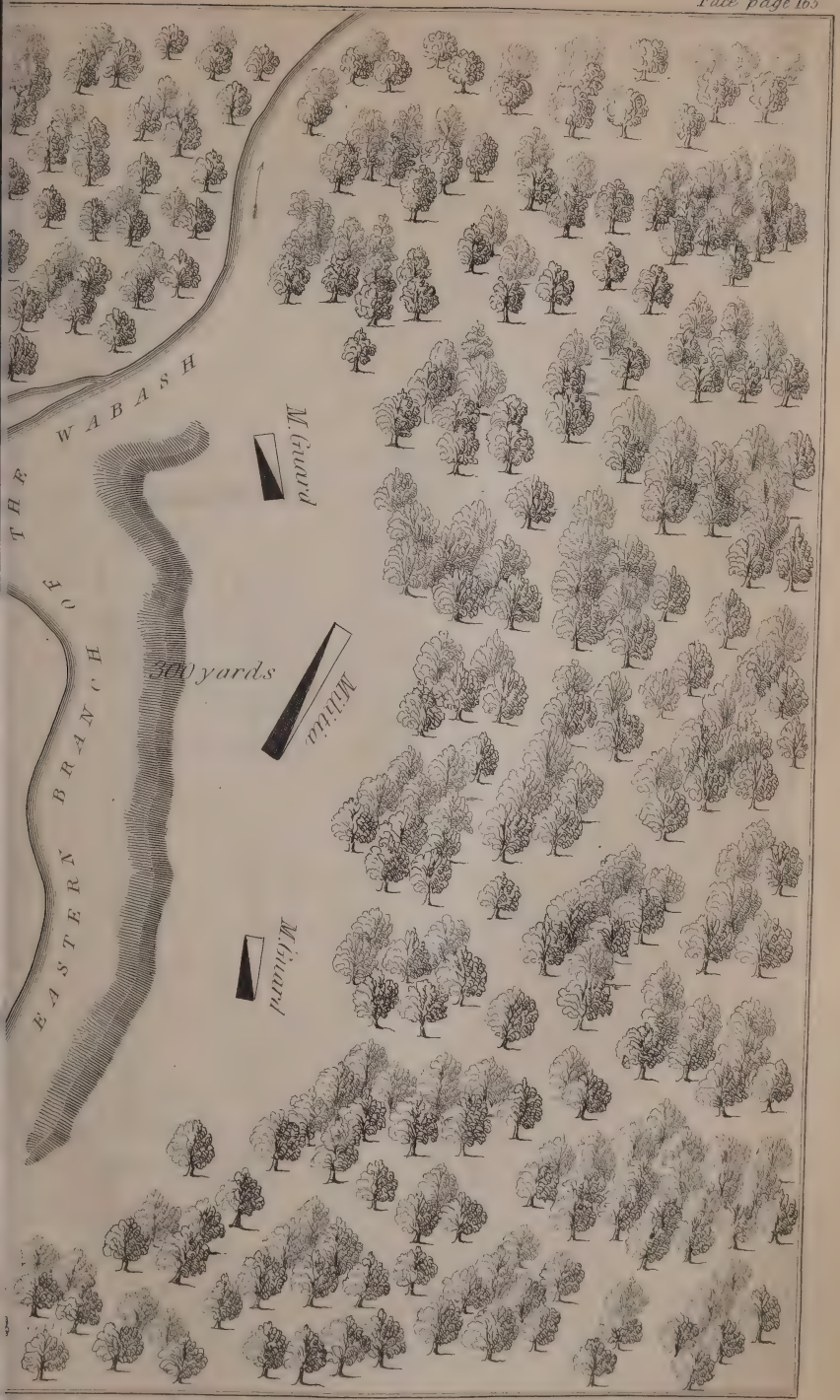
2*d.*—The army marched at nine o'clock; about twelve o'clock crossed a creek fifteen yards wide, running east. The country very flat and marshy. Joined this afternoon by another Indian path much frequented. Gained eight miles and encamped. Course north twenty-five degrees east this day, and total distance from Fort Washington eighty-nine miles. A scout sent out yesterday fell in with an Indian camp, got some plunder and seven horses branded United States, supposed to have been stolen from Fort Washington. We had a light snow all this day.

3*d.*—Marched at nine o'clock. The first four miles very flat and wet. About twelve passed over dry ground and descended gradually for three miles to a small creek, supposed to be a branch of the waters emptying into Lake Erie; proceeded two miles farther, and encamped on pleasant dry ground, on bank of a creek about twenty yards wide, said to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee.[1] Distance this day about nine miles; general course northwest thirty degrees. Fresh signs of the savages appeared to-day in several places; parties of riflemen detached

[1] Known since to be a branch of the Wabash.

after them, but without success. It was later than usual when the army reached the ground this evening, and the men much fatigued prevented the General from having some works of defense immediately erected. Major Ferguson, commanding officer of artillery, sent for, and a plan agreed on intended to be commenced early on tomorrow. The high dry ground barely sufficient to encamp the army; lines rather contracted. Parallel with the front line runs the creek, about twenty yards wide. On both flanks low wet ground, and along most part of the rear. Militia advanced across the creek about three hundred yards. Had accompanied the quarter-master in the afternoon, on to this ground; it was farther than could have been wished, but no place short of it appeared so suitable. I was much pleased with it; returned and made report; found the army halted and about to encamp on flat land, and with no good water; although it was late, the march was continued till just dark, when we reached the creek.

4th. — Camp on a creek twenty yards wide, supposed to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee, ninety-eight miles from Fort Washington. The frequent firing of the sentinels through the night had disturbed the camp, and excited some concern among the officers. The guards had reported the Indians to lie skulking about in considerable numbers. About ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was desired to send out an intelligent officer and party to make discoveries. Captain Slough, with two subalterns and thirty men, I saw parade at General Butler's tent for this pur-

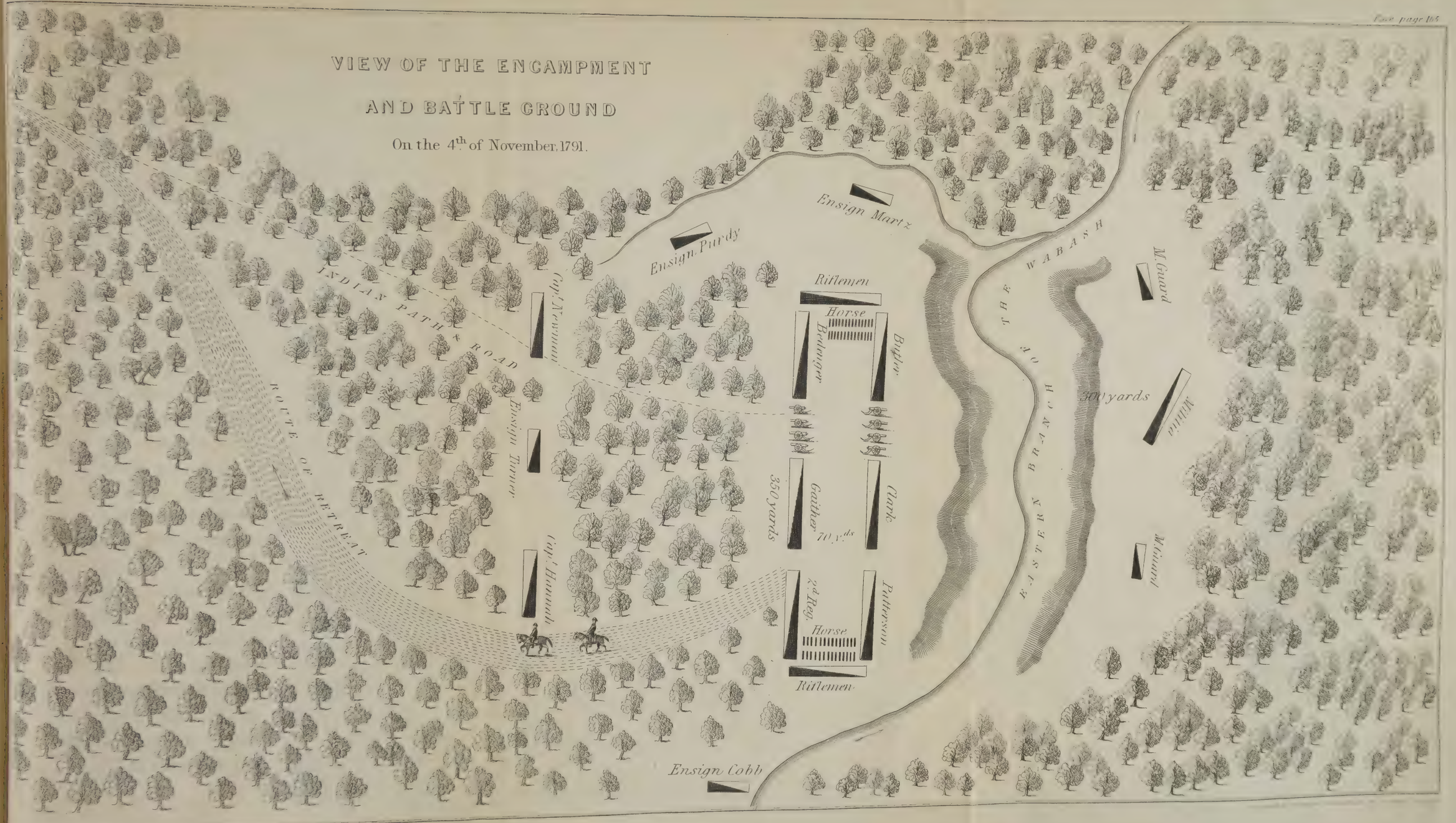


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Drawn by Major E. Denny, U.S.A.

pose, and heard the General give Captain Slough very particular verbal orders how to proceed. Myself and two or three officers staid with the General until late, when I returned to the commander-in-chief, whose tent was at some distance on the left, and who was unable to be up.

The troops paraded this morning at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savages. The poor militia, who were but three hundred yards in front, had scarcely time to return a shot—they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise, but did little execution. The Indians seemed to brave everything, and when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire, which they kept up very constant and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard. Our left flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encampment, but it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed and were soon repulsed. Was at this time with the General engaged to-

ward the right; he was on foot and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon them back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return, as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the centre, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many who had quit their posts unhurt, had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out; a very great proportion fell, or were wounded and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. General Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced officers. The men being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and to save themselves for the moment, abandoned entirely their duty and ground, and crowded in toward the centre of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one, and he badly wounded, and the men almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked. As our lines were deserted the Indians contracted theirs until their shot centred from all points, and now meeting with little op-

position, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress too of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived; a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impracticable. The only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice, there was no alternative. It was past nine o'clock, when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing anything; they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line, were soon left behind. At the moment of the retreat, one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased, I was directed to endeavor to gain the front, and if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; pushed forward, but met with so many

difficulties and interruptions from the people, that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt, but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly, I halted myself until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one-half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks, cartridge boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single Indian might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men, that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again. In the afternoon Lieutenant Kersey, with a detachment of the first regiment, met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia, who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements,

and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the first regiment and all the levies able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on, were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about nine o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy. Stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At one o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night, when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day, the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached in the afternoon.

7th. — Fort Hamilton command was ordered off with a small supply for the wounded, &c. About twelve same day continued our march, and halted before night within

fifteen miles of Fort Washington, which place we reached the afternoon of the 8th.

The prediction of General Harmar, before the army set out on the campaign, was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them, totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged, it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise. Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quarter-master and contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him that the commanding general, who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding, with such people, and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing, too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that *both* the general officers were, and had been disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The adjutant-general, Colonel Sargent, an old Revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on

the alert; he took upon himself the burden of everything, and a very serious and troublesome task he had. But one most important object was wanting, can't say neglected, but more might have been done toward obtaining it; this was, *a knowledge of the collected force and situation of the enemy; of this we were perfectly ignorant.* Some few scouts out, but to no great distance. The one which left camp on the 29th of October, under direction of Captain Sparks, and composed chiefly of the friendly Indians, had missed the enemy altogether, and on their return to join the army, the morning after the defeat, met an Indian runner who had been in the engagement, of him they got the news which enabled them to escape. When the army advanced from Fort Jefferson, it did not exceed two thousand men; discharges, desertions and the absence of the first regiment, reduced the effective strength on the day of action to about fourteen hundred. The second regiment had but one battalion with the army—it was well appointed, but young in service. The officers and men, however, did their duty; *they*, with the battalion of artillery, were nearly all cut off. The whole loss, as now ascertained by the different returns, is thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing; thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates wounded.

LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Officers in the army of the United States, commanded by General Arthur St. Clair, November 4th, 1791.

ARTILLERY.

KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Major Ferguson,	Capt. Ford.
Capt. Bradford,	
Lieut. Spear.	

CAVALRY.

	Capt. Trueman,
	Lieut. Debutts,
	Cornet Bhines.

FIRST REGIMENT.

	Capt. Doyle.[1]

SECOND REGIMENT

Major Heart,	Lieut. Graton.
Capt. Phelon,	
Capt. Newman,	
Capt. Kirkwood,	
Lieut. Warren,	
Ensign Balsh,	
Ensign Cobb.	

FIRST REGIMENT OF LEVIES.

Capt. Vanswearingen,	Lieut.-Col. Dark,
Capt. Tibton,	Capt. Dark,
Capt. Price,	Capt. Buchanan,
Lieut. M'Math,	Lieut. Morgan,

[1] Captain Doyle was on guard when the first regiment was ordered back, he had been relieved, but was without any command. Attached himself to the artillery.

KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Lieut. Boyd,	Lieut. Lyle,
Ensign Wilson,	Lieut. Rhea,
Ensign Reaves,	Lieut. Davidson,
Ensign Brooks	Lieut. Price,
Ensign Chase,	Adjt. Whistler.
Ensign Turner,[1]	
Adjt. Burges,	
Dr. Grayson.	

SECOND REGIMENT OF LEVIES.

Capt. Cribbs,	Lieut.-Col. Gibson,[2]
Capt. Piatt,	Major Butler,
Capt. Smith,	Capt. Slough,
Capt. Purdy,	Lieut. Thompson,
Lieut. Kelso,	Lieut. Cummins,
Lieut. Lukins,	Lieut. Read,
Ensign M'Michle,	Ensign Moorhead,
Ensign Beatty,	Adjt. Crawford.
Ensign Purdy,	
Adjt. Anderson,	

KENTUCKY MILITIA.

Lieut.-Col. Oldham,	Capt. Thomas,
Capt. Lemmon,	Capt. Maddison,
Lieut. Briggs,	Lieut. Owens,
Ensign Montgomery.	Lieut. Stagner,
	Ensign Walter,
	Dr. Gano.

[1] Ensign Turner commanded one of the guards. He was taken and carried to Detroit — returned by Montreal — saw him in Philadelphia the next April. He either was or affected to be deranged.

[2] Colonel Gibson died of his wounds at Fort Jefferson.

Major General Butler, killed; Colonel Sargent, adjutant general, and Viscount Malartie, acting as aid-de-camp, wounded.

Fort Washington, *Nov.* 18*th.*—The remains of our wretched and miserable army are encamped in front of the fort. Every necessary provision ordered to make the men as comfortable as possible, but the weather has been cold and wet, with snow, and a very considerable number of officers and men are laid up. The General, too, has been much indisposed. On the 9th, the day after we reached this, he made out to forward to government, by way of Kentucky, a short dispatch, but has scarcely had his head off the pillow.

On the 10th a detachment of fresh troops marched for Fort Jefferson, with a small supply for that post, and on the 11th the first regiment followed. Such of the officers in camp who are capable, have been engaged making returns, pay rolls, &c., and preparing for their men's discharge. All the wounded able to be moved from Fort Jefferson, reached here yesterday. The General has at length completed his particular dispatches, and on to-morrow I once again ascend the river for the seat of government. He purposes, as soon as he is able to travel, to set out on horseback for the same place.

19*th.*—In the evening take leave of our friends at Fort Washington and embark on board a fourteen oar barge. The boat's company consists of Captain Edward Butler and twenty-two of his men, who were raised about Pittsburgh, and for the sake of getting home have volunteered this service. Passengers are Captain Buel, of the

second regiment, who arrived at Fort Washington some short time after the army marched from thence, and where he chose to remain—he is now returning home; and Adjutant Crawford and Quarter-master Semple, of the Pennsylvania levies. Crawford is an old Revolutionary officer of some merit. He received a shot in the late action, which is lodged somewhere about the chest, but appears not at all disabled. Semple is a fine companionable man, who has seen better times. We promise ourselves as pleasant a passage as circumstances and the lateness of the season will admit.

Dec. 9th. — Arrive at Wheeling, after an extremely hard and tedious passage of twenty days; the same journey have more than once made in fifteen — but the winter seemed to have set in earlier than usual. The river had swollen considerably before we started, and heavy rains and snows almost every day on our way up, kept the water constantly on the rise. The last two nights covered the river with ice, and it was with difficulty the boat was worked to this place.

10*th.*—Hired a boy and horses, took the road through Washington, and reached Pittsburgh on the night of the 11th.

13*th.*—In the morning leave Pittsburgh, and arrive at Philadelphia late on the 19th.

19*th.*—Waited immediately upon the Secretary of War. Since I left Fort Washington, have endeavored to banish from my mind, as much as possible, every idea of the slaughter and defeat of the army; to talk at all on the subject is an unpleasant task to me, but there are

certain persons to whom I must make a full communications. My friends at Pittsburgh, and on to this place, seem to view me as escaped from the dead — astonishment takes place of pleasure; and having in some degree got over those feelings myself, am considered as little better than one of the savages — but all this will soon be forgotten.

The morning after my arrival here, General Knox, the Secretary of War, called at my quarters and took me to the President's, where we breakfasted with the family, and afterward had much talk on the subject of the campaign and defeat. With the Secretary, at his office, I have also endeavored to afford every possible satisfaction. It is a pleasing reflection to believe that I have fulfilled all that could be expected of me. The attention and kindness which I receive, is a flattering consolation and assurance of having done my duty. Among the friends I met at this place, I have found none who appeared more sincerely pleased to see me than General Harmar and his family. They left Fort Washington at the time the army marched out, and arrived here safe about three weeks since. The first business the General attended to was the settlement of his public accounts, which was soon done. Indeed there could be no difficulty, for in my opinion, there is not a better accountant than himself; nor is it possible for any man to have been more exact or punctual than he was in all his transactions. He resigns his commission at the end of the present month.

29*th*.—This day I received the appointment of captain

in the first regiment. Several other regular promotions made. Hamtramck will command the regiment; Ziegler and Strong, majors.

February, 1792.—General St. Clair and several officers of the levies arrive at the city. My friend Captain Pratt, late quarter-master, with whom I lived and messed for five years while adjutant of the regiment, passed on his way home to Connecticut, to recruit a company for himself. A new raised company now at this place, has been assigned to me; but for the present, as it is a question with me whether I will continue in the service, have excused myself from the command. I feel perfectly weary and sick of the noise and bustle of a military life, and long for a change for a domestic situation.

March.—General St. Clair is determined to have an investigation into the causes of the defeat. He resigns the command of the army. As it will be some time before the investigation can commence, and having little now to do, I leave Philadelphia for Pittsburgh, by way of Carlisle, with a view of making arrangements to retire from the army. The little horse that served me so well in the campaign and in the action, was brought round by the General, and carries me on this journey. Our good fortune, I hope, will attend us. See my friends at Carlisle. Proceeded to Pittsburgh, where I make some engagements, and determine upon quitting the service. Return to the city after an absence of four weeks.

April.—General Anthony Wayne appointed commander-in-chief, in place of General St. Clair, who had resigned. The army is to be augmented to four regiments

of infantry, besides a corps of cavalry; the whole, with artillery, to consist of five thousand men. The committee of Congress commence their inquiry into the causes of the defeat. Several hours spent every day for a week past, examining officers and others examined on oath. They adjourn, and finally report to the House,

"That, in their opinion, the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to the conduct of the commanding general, either at any time before or during the action."

May 1*st*.—Resigned my commission; next day left the city for Pittsburgh.

In the winter of 1793–4 the western frontiers of Pennsylvania lay much exposed to the inroads of the Indians; frequent depredations were committed. General Wayne had removed and taken with him down the Ohio, the whole of the troops of the United States, leaving at Fort Franklin only a subaltern and twenty men. I had occasion to be in Philadelphia about this time, when Governor Mifflin communicated to me a plan which he recommended to the Legislature for the protection of the western frontiers. This plan was adopted, and an act passed authorizing him to appoint and raise in Philadelphia a company of artillery, and in the western counties three companies of riflemen. A very favorite object of the Governor, and which was approved by the Legislature, was the establishment of a post at Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie. The command intended for this favorite

object was to be composed of detachments from each of the four companies, to consist of a captain, four subalterns and one hundred and seven non-commissioned and privates.

March 1*st*, 1794.—I was commissioned captain of the company to be raised in the county of Allegheny, and especially appointed to the command of the Presqu' Isle detachment. It was expected that a post at Presqu' Isle would cut off the intercourse between the Six Nations, who had become wavering and suspicious, and the hostile Indians, and would favor General Wayne, who was preparing to march against the latter. Another important object was to afford protection to commissioners appointed to lay out towns at Le Bœuf and Presqu' Isle, and to force settlements at each of these places, under cover of the troops.

20*th*.—General Wilkins came from Philadelphia with the law for raising four companies of State troops, and the commission of captain for myself, with orders to command the detachment of one hundred and seven men, when raised, destined for Presqu' Isle. Samuel Murphy and James Patterson appointed the subalterns to the Allegheny company.

April 4*th*.—Mr. Patterson's commission did not come on until to-day. I went to his home and delivered it, with money and recruiting instructions. Lieutenant Murphy has been out since the 24th of March in Fayette.

9*th*.—Set out to Westmoreland to recruit and to hurry on the quota of that county. Had written to the inspectors of Washington and Westmoreland, some days previous, requesting that their men might be sent on as soon

as possible, as a covering party was wanted to make a deposit somewhere near the head navigation of French creek.

13*th.*—Finding that the detachments would not join us as soon as they were wanted, joined with General Wilkins in requesting a party of volunteers for covering the boats and stores.

19*th.*—The volunteers assembled. Twenty men with Lieutenant Miller arrived from Washington.

21*st.*—Ensign Mahaffy came in with his quota from Westmoreland. They marched along with Miller's men; each with a sergeant, corporal and twenty men. They would join the volunteers next morning. Lieutenant Miller returned to Washington to recruit.

The State troops under Mahaffy, - -	43
Four sent with boats, - - - - -	4
	—
	47
Volunteers, - - - - - -	32

May 7*th.*—The detachment of artillery (thirty-two) under Lieutenant Hazlewood, arrived from Philadelphia.

23*d.*—Received a letter from the Governor entreating that nothing might be omitted to have the law for laying out the town at Presqu' Isle executed, and empowering us to order out militia if necessary. Mr. Ellicott and Mr. Wilkins, who was just from Fort Franklin, joined in requesting a company from the three counties. Accordingly the men were ordered out.

30*th.*—Orders came from the Governor for turning out one thousand militia to assist in making the establish-

ment at Presqu' Isle, but left to the discretion of General Irvine, who was expected to be here.

June 1st.— General Irvine came to town. He was of opinion that five hundred of the militia ordered out would answer the purpose, but not less. Two days ago the Indians attacked a canoe upon the Allegheny; there were three men in it. They killed one and wounded the other two, but got nothing. The accident happened five miles above the Kiskiminetas. The Indians, disappointed in that attack, crossed to the Kiskiminetas and unfortunately fell in with a Kentucky boat full of women and children, with but four men, laying to feeding their cattle. The men were ashore, received a fire without much damage, got into the boat, all but one, who fled to a house not far distant. The Indians fired into the boat, killed two men and wounded the third. The boat had been set afloat and drifted down in that helpless condition, twenty-four women and children on board.

2d.— Orders from the Governor suspending our expedition to Presqu' Isle, and directing me to remain with my detachment at Le Bœuf. Wrote to the inspectors to forward me the enlistments of the recruits from Westmoreland and Washington counties.

6th.—Wrote to the Governor.

7th.—Lieutenant Hazlewood, with his detachment of artillery from Philadelphia, thirty-two, having joined us, we crossed the Allegheny with seventy men, the remainder of my command, and took up our march for Le Bœuf. Encamped one mile from Robinson's.

8th. — Detained until late in the day waiting for a

drove of cattle which we wished to have along. Twenty-two were brought over. We moved seven miles and halted.

9*th.*—Found that the cattle had returned in the night back to the river. We were obliged to send after them. It was two o'clock when they were brought up. We marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a branch of Brush creek.

10*th.*—Marched at seven o'clock; crossed Conneke-ness; halted one hour; took the route again, and encamped one mile beyond Muddy creek. This day's march twenty-three miles.

11*th.*—Marched at eight o'clock. Passed over a rich level country. Stopped at Slippery Rock, where we saw one of the best natural mill seats and plenty of water. A fine situation for a village. Went on and encamped at a spring—twenty miles.

12*th.*—Marched at seven o'clock through thickets of brush—few trees—but the land good. Rain for two days past. Passed the graves of two men who were killed a few days ago, eighteen miles from Franklin. Halted awhile. Proceeded and got to the fort (mouth of French creek) between four and five o'clock in the afternoon—twenty miles—distance from Pittsburgh seventy miles.

13*th.*—Lay encamped drying, cleaning and putting our arms in order.

14*th.*—Mr. Ellicott made a request in writing for me to remain until the arrival of the Cornplanter—stating that he and General Wilkins had sent for him. Agreed.

15*th*.—Found Fort Franklin in a wretched state of defense. The men in the fort, about twenty, almost all invalids and unable to make any repairs. The officer and his command under great apprehension of an attack from the Indians, who were in considerable numbers about the place, and very insulting. There was good reason to fear mischief from the Six Nations. Two men were murdered the day before we arrived, eighteen miles on the road to Pittsburgh. They had left the fort, and it was supposed had been followed by some of the rascals who are now here. Sensible of the importance of the post, and the connection which we must necessarily have with it, could not think of advancing and leaving it in such bad condition. The garrison for some time past had suffered every inconvenience of a close siege; gates were kept locked day and night. But both gates and pickets served more to cover the enemy, than for any defense of the people within. Accordingly we set to work. A new set of pickets was brought from the woods, and in four days an entire new work erected round the block-house, which we left in tolerable defensible order. Lieutenant Polhemus, who commands here, is of opinion that General Knox intends the fort shall go to wreck—says he has often represented the condition of the place; but no provision had been made for repairing it. The block-house cannot last more than another year or two, and then it will be easier building upon the old British work (which ought to have been done at first) than to repair the present one.

21*st*.—Took up our march. Crossed French creek in

canoes; the water high and rapid. Marched twelve miles over a fine country. Forded Big Sugar creek waist deep. Encamped on a fine piece of ground.

22*d.* — Marched at seven. The road and land from Franklin to Cussewago excellent. Got to the settlement about three o'clock, where we found some people "forted," as it is called. This the only place where a settlement has been attempted this side of Pittsburgh.

23*d.*—The cattle strayed. Did not get all until eleven o'clock. Marched twelve miles. The country very level and rich.

24*th.*—Marched at eight through pine swamps and bad roads. Came upon French creek, seven miles below Le Bœuf; the country thence up beautiful, and the road good. Joined our people about four o'clock. The distance from Fort Franklin to Le Bœuf, by way of Cussewago, about fifty-five miles. The first part may be made good, but the other will be very difficult until the country is opened. A direct road north from Franklin to Le Bœuf, it is said, will not exceed forty-five miles; but it is yet uncertain what kind of a road that route will afford. Ensign Mehaffy and his detachment we found fenced in. The quarters of the men who were here before us, and the whole place, in the most abominable filthy condition, and one-third of the men ill with the flux. Boats had all been got up safe and unloaded. Stores of every kind deposited in a temporary warehouse. To our very great mortification, I received orders from the Governor suspending our march to Presqu' Isle, and to proceed for the present no farther. This circumstance

he laments. The President of the United States has made a special request of it; apprehensive of giving disgust to the Six Nations and extending the sphere of Indian hostilities. Information communicated to the department of war, by Israel Chapin, Indian Agent, stating the great probability of an immediate rupture with the Six Nations if we proceed to Presqu' Isle, has produced this interposition of the President.

25*th.*—The evening of our arrival I received a letter from Israel Chapin, superintendent for the Six Nations, informing me that he had just landed at Presqu' Isle with William Johnson, a British agent, and sixteen chiefs and warriors—a deputation from the Buffalo council, and that they would be with us by two o'clock next day.

26*th.*—Lay encamped under cover of two block-houses. Chapin with his party came in, and saluted us as they passed. We returned the salute with a discharge of the small arms out of the block-houses, and one six-pounder. The Indians encamped down on the river bank.

27*th.*—Met the Indians to hear their message. It was from the Buffalo council "to the armed people at Presqu' Isle and Le Bœuf," and amounted to nothing more or less than an order to remove back. That if we did, they would consider us as friends, but if not, we would not be considered as such. I disliked the presence of Johnson, and felt a very strong disposition to take him into custody. Abused Chapin for coming upon such business. He excused himself by declaring that he had been in a manner compelled. He is an old man. Johnson, the British and Indian agent, acted (slily) as prompter to

their old chief who spoke. They denied having sold their land. Told us that the paper (deed) which they signed at Fort Harmar, was thought by them then to be no more than a treaty of peace, and that the goods which were given them they considered as presents. Money, they say they never received any. They were very inquisitive—wished to know if any surveyors were out, and told us to stop every person from going forward. They were told that we were ordered here by our great council, and could not remove from hence until orders came for that purpose.

28*th.* — Chapin and the deputation of Indians left us and returned to Presqu' Isle, where they had left their boats, and would proceed home to Buffalo by water, the way they came.

29*th.* — Wrote to the Governor; inclosed the Indian message and a return of the troops.

30*th.*—Commenced our fatigue with as many hands as we dare venture abroad, getting pickets and block-house logs.

July 1*st.* — Laid off ground on the old French and British site, and began a work sufficient for my command. Four block-houses forming a square, fifty-four feet apart; lower story of house seventeen feet, upper story twenty feet, connected by stout pickets set two and a half feet in the ground and ten and a half out. The seam inside covered by a smaller picket six feet high. Sides of block-houses covered by an angle in the line of pickets extending from the centre of each curtain. Sides of the angles, eighteen feet. The ground handsomely

elevated. Washed on the east by Le Bœuf creek, fifteen and twenty yards wide. An extensive cleared plain all around.

2*d*.—All hands at work. Erected another curtain.

3*d*.—Inclosed ourselves so as to secure us from any attempts the Indians could make.

4*th*.—Block-houses up to the square pickets planted on three sides. Rested this day from labor.

5*th*.—Mr. Nesbitt, Mr. Tannehill and Mr. Gibson, left us to return home. Wrote to the Governor. Employed in getting in timber, leveling the fort, &c.

6*th*.—Sunday. Rested from labor.

7*th*, 8*th*, 9*th and* 10*th*.—Employed in raising two buildings; one for the contractor and one for quarter-master's and military stores.

11*th and* 12*th*.—Pulled down some old buildings and got up our fourth line of pickets. Filled up two old French cellars that were within our work, and leveled the parade. An Indian express arrived from Franklin with a packet for Mr. Ellicott.

13*th*.—No fatigue.

17*th*.—Sent Lieutenant Murphy, the quarter-master, a sergeant and fifteen men, with a six ox team, to bring up our other twelve-pounder from where it was left, seven miles below on the creek. They returned in the afternoon.

18*th*.—An express came from Franklin with the proceedings of the Buffalo council, held the 4th instant; sent by General Chapin.

19*th*.—Ensign Mehaffy, with six men, started for Pitts-

burgh with dispatches, and with orders to bring us on a supply of provisions.

25*th.*—Obliged to stop our work for want of provisions.

26*th.*—Discovered three Indians viewing the fort. Sent out a couple of men with a white flag, but the fellows cleared off. This evening received letters from Pitt and one from the Governor, dated 13th of June.

27*th.*—Heard the report of two cannon toward Presqu' Isle. Sent two men on there to observe if there were any people at that place.

28*th.*—The men sent to Presqu' Isle returned after being all over the place. Made no discoveries.

Aug. 1*st.*—Dispatched Sergeant Holladay and two men to Pittsburgh, with letters and returns for the Governor. Sent along a draught of our fort, which is now nearly finished. In the second story of each of the western block-houses is mounted a six-pounder; and aloft on each of the eastern houses is a swivel. In the eastern angle, fronting the creek, constructed of heavy timber laid horizontally, we have a battery of two twelve-pounders. Around the curtains are erected banquettes of hewn timber, for the men to mount on to fire through the ports. Men quarter in the block-houses. Officers have two small buildings, for quarter-master and contractor's stores, besides magazine and guard house.

2*d.*—Served the troops with a half a ration of meat only, and a ration and a half of flour. The weather remarkably warm and dry; no rain since the 20th of July.

3*d.*—Extreme sultry weather. The creek totally useless. In the evening appearance of rain at a distance,

all round; only a few drops reached us. The wind has continued south-west during this dry spell.

5*th.*—Cloudy, with wind, but no rain.

6*th.*—Received a supply of cattle, thirteen head, but miserably poor.

7*th.*—Last night one of the sentries fired at an Indian very near the fort, about two o'clock in the morning. The garrison was alarmed and under arms.

9*th.*—The weather changed. Wind from the south-east.

10*th.*—A steady rain all last evening and this morning. An appearance of more.

11*th.*—Dry warm weather. A young Indian came express from Cussewago, with information that a Mr. Dickenson had, the day before, been fired upon within one hundred perches of the town, and was wounded in three places, a fourth shot cut the crown of his hat. One of the balls lodged in his body, but there were hopes of his recovery. David Mead begged for some protection.

12*th.*—Sent a trusty corporal and twelve men to Cussewago to remain there. A man of that place fired on within one hundred and fifty perches of the block-house, and wounded in three places. Nothing of the kind has yet occurred with us. Our sentries have twice in the night fired at objects which they took for Indians, and had us all at our stations. Have no doubt but they were frequently near us. A few days since three fellows appeared on the edge of the plain; I sent a sergeant with a flag toward them, but they made off.

17*th.*—Sherman Morrow, of the artillery, missing; supposed to have deserted. Our whiskey run out.

18*th.*—Sent a party in search of Morrow; found no trace of him.

19*th.*—A further search made, but no trace or sign.

20*th.*—Set in to rain very early, and continued all day. The creek rose considerably. Morrow came in about two o'clock. Says he was lost; traveled to Lake Erie, was at Presqu' Isle.

23*d.*—In the evening three canoes made out to bring us some flour from Cussewago. Each canoe had five barrels of flour.

24*th.*—The people returned to Cussewago.

25*th.*—Last night a few of our fellows broke open the commissary store, outside the garrison, where the commissioners had a cask of brandy, and carried off the barrel. The men were paraded early. George Depue, John Depue, Walker and Glenn, who were found drunk, were confined. A canteen of the brandy was found in Walker's berth, and a number of the men appeared to have had a small share. Mitchel, of the artillery, called out, that it was damned wrong these men should be confined. I ordered him to be secured. He snatched up a musket, and swore he would shoot the first man who would attempt to lay hands on him. The guard was backward. I advanced toward him; he snapped the piece at me and called to the men to join him. Elliot, one of the prisoners, jumped up to his assistance, and hallooed, "Now's the time, my boys, let's join." Two of the other prisoners endeavored to escape out of the gate. In the mean time Mitchel was loading his piece, and had got it primed, but before it was charged Lieutenant

Murphy, seconded by Sergeant Smith, jumped upon him and disarmed him with considerable difficulty. Mr. Ellicott, who was at the gate at the time, prevented Glenn and Depue from running off. Elliot was the only one who offered to assist Mitchel, and coming up at the time Lieutenant Murphy was engaged with Mitchel, Mr. Murphy settled his business. The troops about this time were under arms, and as soon as possible we had Mitchel in irons. He, however, was not settled, but damned himself if he would not shoot both Murphy and myself. Knowing him to be a dangerous fellow, and having no authority to punish so capital a crime, and keeping him confined with us would have been attended with some risk, I dispatched him off under a corporal and three men, to Fort Franklin, with a request to Captain Heth to keep him secured. The same party of rascals broke down the oven some time in the night, with a view of putting a stop to any more bread being issued.

Lieutenant Miller is blamed for encouraging the breaking of the oven. He has been heard say that it was wrong not to let the men have flour, and went so far as to tell me the men ought to have flour. I mentioned at the time that if he would be answerable for any charge the contractor would bring against me, that his detachment should have flour; but he would not agree to that. When the men have been talking to him of the hardness of the times, he would reply that "they were hard enough," and being exceedingly familiar with all ranks, eating and sleeping with his, sitting down and entering into social conversation with the meanest of them, and

drinking with them upon all occasions, notwithstanding my repeated advice to him, this conduct led the other gentlemen to suspect him of being concerned. However, he was very quiet during our fray. About ten o'clock the barrel was found concealed under a heap of brush, with about half the liquor in it.

Lieutenant Hazlewood informs me, that Lieutenant Miller told him he was not doing right in suffering a man of the artillery detachment to bake bread—that *he*, Miller, would not allow one of *his* detachment to do so, if he had ever so many bakers; and mentioned that the man who baked had the curses of all the garrison. Upon further inquiry, we find there were no less than seven concerned in robbing the store.

27*th.*—Ensign Mehaffy, with his party, arrived with thirteen head of very small cattle, and a few horse loads of flour and whiskey—ten in number.

Sept. 3*d.*—Wrote to the Governor and inclosed returns, dated the 1st. Also wrote to General Harmar.

6*th.*—Received a small supply of flour from Cussewago in two canoes. A few days past considerable rain fell. The waters risen five or six inches.

7*th.*—Last night was very cold.

8*th.*—Still colder.

9*th.*—In the morning the whole country white with frost. The officers of the fort have all expressed a desire to see Presqu' Isle, and they have received some encouragement, provided circumstances would allow it. A few days since a letter was received by Mr. Ellicott from Mr. Adlum, who had returned to Fort Franklin from the

Cornplanter. The letter informs us that a treaty was to be held at Buffalo, on the 15th of this month, by the Six Nations, and commissioners appointed by the United States; recommending it to us, by all means, to have a stock of provisions laid in; that if the treaty did not terminate as the Indians wished, that war was inevitable, and that the Cornplanter desired him to tell us not to carry much provision to Le Bœuf, for fear we would have to run of and leave it before long. Before this information came, I had told Mr. Hazlewood we would endeavor to let him go to Presqu' Isle soon. But since, being obliged to employ more of the men in strengthening the fort, and not thinking it prudent to let him select sixteen men to go just upon the day he pleased, he made a formal tender to me of his commission, telling me it was to see the country that he came out, and if he could not have that liberty, he did not choose to serve any longer; he wished to resign his appointment, he would then go where he pleased. I informed him that it was not in my power to accept it; but the next time that I wrote to the Governor, would mention it, and if he approved of the resignation it would be well; but that it was impossible for him to quit until an answer came from the Governor. He replied, that his time would be out against then, and took back the commission.

Besides the information which has been mentioned as received from John Adlum, he tells us also, that a number of Indians had come across the lake to guard the frontiers of the Six Nations. Now it is more than probable that a party of these Indians are constantly about

Presqu' Isle, that place being the grand point in question. And to suffer an officer and fifteen or twenty men to go there at this time, might precipitate a war, which is dreaded. The night after Lieutenant Hazlewood had shown me a list of sixteen men that he wanted to go to the lake with him, and before he wished to quit the service; I took an opportunity of mentioning to him the impropriety of going at this time. Told him that I was as desirous of going as any person could be, but that I was determined never to do a thing that might disgrace me; that probably there was not much danger, but it was uncertain what would happen. That one or two men might not be discovered, but an officer and such a party as he wanted, would very likely be seen and intercepted. Any accident would injure me. He appeared satisfied with this; but to my astonishment, next day he wanted to resign.

11*th*.—Received a letter from Ensign Vanhorn at Cussewago, complaining much of Mr. Wilkins having ordered the two six-pounders from there to Franklin, and begging for some more men. Wrote by the two men to General Wilkins, and inclosed a letter to an inspector for fifty men to be kept at Cussewago; mentioned the hostile determination of the Six Nations, &c.

The pack horses in the employ of the contractor left us two or three days ago, with orders to load at Cussewago with flour, and return as soon as possible. I sent two men along with them, and ordered the corporal who is stationed there, to add four of his men to the party when they started for this place.

15*th.*—No whiskey for the troops.

18*th.*—The pack horses not returned. Whiskey out. Beef very poor. Men complain. A board of officers inspect it, and judge a pound and a half to be no more than right. Sent a man to Cussewago to know what detains the horses.

20*th.*—The express returned from Cussewago and says that the pack horses had arrived there from Franklin the day before yesterday; that the one-half of them were lost; that but five were coming on. By the same express Mr. Mead informs us that on Sunday last he was at Franklin, where he learned that Governor Simco had marched with a party of British troops from Niagara to dispossess Captain Williamson of a handsome establishment which he had made on Lake Ontario, in the State of New York. Yesterday two spies were discovered viewing our fort. This evening the horses arrived. One lost on the road from Cussewago, and the load (salt) was left behind. Matthew Wilson, the express from Cussewago to Pittsburgh, returned; only eight days gone. By him I received letters from the Governor and General Wilkins.

21*st.*—Sent a boat off for corn to Cussewago, and for some more flour. We have had some rain almost every day for three weeks past, but not to affect the creek until now; nor has there been any chance to employ boats since the 4th of July until the present time.

28*th.*—On the morning of this day the meat was complained of. A court was ordered to inspect it. They reported it poor and unwholesome; consequently not fit

to be issued. Mr. Ellicott and myself looked at it, but could not agree with the court. The beef was put into store, the best meat picked out, and delivered without a murmur. Some of the officers who were on the court, particularly Lieutenant Miller, scolded his sergeant, and forbid the men taking it, telling them it was all condemned. This encouraged others, and they thinking that the contractor and quarter-master were imposing upon them meat which had not passed inspection, refused the second time. I desired the court to go and give their opinion of what the contractor had selected. They did; and Lieutenant Hazlewood reported that they were of the same opinion as before, that the meat was unfit for use. I examined it, with some other gentlemen, but excepting a few pieces which had been taken out the first time, the rest was as sweet as any meat could be. I waited upon the court, and told them there was no resource (it was all we had), that there might be a chance piece not so good, but that the commissary should pick it; and as I had understood from the men that the poorness was what they complained of, that a pound was not sufficient for the ration, if they would look at it again and report what additional quantity might be allowed, that I would order it. Lieutenant Miller cursed himself and said he would report no more about it, that if they had done right they would have thrown it into the creek. Lieutenant Hazlewood and Ensign Mehaffy were willing to make the report, while they thought that the others refusing, would prevent them. But upon my telling them that any two would be sufficient, or that Lieutenant

Murphy should be ordered in the room of Lieutenant Miller, Lieutenant Hazlewood replied that he or they could not have anything more to do with it; that any other opinion now would be condemning the first report, and therefore declined. This was plain enough, that all the meat was looked upon by the court to be bad and unfit to be issued.

29*th.*—Two canoes came with seven barrels of whiskey and six barrels of flour. Cold rains. The creek in fine condition for boating.

30*th.*—Very cold for the season.

Oct. 1*st.*—Wrote to the Governor and inclosed a return of the troops. My communications to the Governor have been once a month, and oftener when necessary. Men are all in fine health and exercised every day. Our numbers the same as when we set out; that is, four subalterns, a quarter-master, seven sergeants, six corporals, one drummer and ninety-six privates.

2*d.*—Cold raw east wind, with rain. The creek falls.

3*d.*—Cold, and considerable rain.

4*th.*—A light snow in the morning. The day clear and cold.

5*th.*—Last night a cold rain; cleared up and changed to snow. The country covered about four inches. The woods around have a beautiful appearance. The creek keeps in good boating order. Received a supply of beef this afternoon in time to save the life of our milch cow.

6*th.*—Hard frost, clear and cold.

7*th.*—This morning woods white with frost. Considerable ice. The creek keeps up finely.

8*th.*—Clear and moderate.

9*th.*—Cloudy and cold, with some rain. Received two messages lately from the Cornplanter. He pretends to be friendly, but says we must leave the place or we will be driven off. The Senecas, of whom he is chief, are a tribe of the Six Nations; they live high up the Allegheny river, and in case of hostilities are much exposed. John Adlum, a surveyor, who was lately at Cornplanter's town, writes from Franklin, and says that a number of the Indians from the British side were with the Cornplanter, and threaten this post. Our movements into this country no doubt have prevented these people from joining the western Indians, and a continuance of peace with them will depend altogether upon the success of General Wayne.

10*th.*—Very winter-like weather. A canoe with whiskey, flour and salt arrived this afternoon from Cussewago. About dark an express from Pitt, with letters from Mr. Wilkins and Governor Mifflin; a copy of an act for maintaining my command, which is to be increased to one hundred and thirty men; orders to re-enlist.

11*th.*—Fine day.

12*th.*—A canoe with twelve barrels flour. Answered Mr. Wilkins' letter by Matthew Wilson.

13*th.*—Pleasant weather. The Indian summer here. Frosty nights. The creek begins to fall.

14*th*, 15*th*, 16*th and* 17*th.*—Remarkable fine days and clear, dry, frosty nights.

18*th.*—Set out with twelve men, accompanied by Mr. Ellicott, on a visit to Presqu' Isle. Went by what is

called the grubbed road. It seems that after the French had opened the Indian path from Presqu' Isle to Le Bœuf, and wagoned considerably upon it, they found that it was some miles about, and that they had commenced the road upon a wrong plan; that it would take more labor to keep it in repair than would open one upon a straight line, notwithstanding, near five miles was cross-way'd, and no road can be had from the lake to French creek with less. However, the direct course was found, and they began with cutting it out forty feet in width, which was pursued from the ford on Mill creek all the way to Le Bœuf. They also erected several large bridges, thirty, forty, fifty feet in length, across hollow ways and deep runs, overlaid with puncheons about eighteen feet long. But there does not appear to have been any cross-way done. Though it will certainly want as much as the old road, yet there has been a vast deal of digging. The course being straight, the way unavoidably led up and down every little precipice that presented, but all these were leveled; every point and sidling ground was made easy, and is still so. But the bridging has decayed and fallen down in the centre. But what appears the most extraordinary is the grubbing. The country through is covered with a vast deal of heavy timber, notwithstanding every tree, from one end to the other, has been taken up by the roots and rolled out. However, it does not appear that ever they made use of this road; for when the trees were taken up the holes were yet so deep as to make it bad for a horse. No doubt the road was intended for a grand way. It is

now grown up with small wood, but the largest to be seen does not exceed six inches. It is supposed that eight men could cut out a mile in a day. After that there must be a cross-way for four or five miles, and some of the old bridges repaired, the root holes filled; in places ditching would be very serviceable. The distance is between ten and twelve miles. We left Le Bœuf about eight o'clock and were at Presqu' Isle about two. Spent the afternoon along the lake and looking round the old fort. The situation grand. A perfect seaboard prospect, and one of the most beautiful. The bank along the lake is high and dry, perhaps about forty feet. Six or eight feet of the bottom is a slate rock. For a mile and a half, the country round the fort has been cleared, but is now grown up with young chestnut timber. Even within the fort the brush is so thick that it is difficult passing. There have been very fine gardens here; parsnips, currant bushes and many other things growing wild. The old fort a regular pentagon; about one thousand feet round the parapet, overlooking and commanding the basin or harbor, and affording a boundless view of the lake. It has been a handsome but light work; neither ditch nor parapet are sufficiently large. Five feet is about the base and height. The ditch perhaps three feet, and four in width. There must have been some other defense, pickets or fraising. The walls of the magazine are yet good, and the well wants nothing but cleaning out. The chimneys of the houses, some brick, others stone, are still standing; and the walls of a stone house, down by the old mill, are yet tolerably good.

19*th*.—Left Presqu' Isle about seven o'clock. Returned by the old cart road. Got back to Le Bœuf about two o'clock. The old road appears now to be dryer than the grubbed one. Indeed in many places where the cross-waying is, the ground does not appear to want it. The country upon both roads is wet; will make fine grazing farm. Many excellent plantations might be made. There is a variety of soil and timber. Some places and large bottoms, are as rich as any land that can be found; the timber, walnut, sugar-tree and shell-bark hickory. But the greater part is but middling, except for pasture; the timber, hemlock or spruce pine, and beech. Along the lake, for two or three miles back, the country is high and dry, a light soil, chestnut and oak of a large growth. Although we had severe frosts at Le Bœuf since the middle of last month, and almost constant, we could not discover that there had been any at Presqu' Isle, at least nothing appeared touched, not even the pea vine. This temperature of the weather must be owing to the large body of water which had received in the summer a degree of heat not easily chilled; consequently until that warmth in the lake is overcome, the air around will be influenced and kept temperate. The same cause is operating now upon the air. On the contrary, in the spring, keeps back the season and all vegetation. It is from this cause, I suppose, that apple orchards and some other fruits are so certain upon the lakes. Letters from Pitt inform us that in August General Wayne had given the western Indians a severe

drubbing. This will be very apt to quiet the Six Nations, the instigations of the British to the contrary notwithstanding.

20*th.*—The French creek fallen near three feet since the last rains. Two men from the landing, ten miles down, left their boat and canoes there. They came up for assistance. The creek too low for their boat. The weather changing. Considerable rain fell this afternoon.

21*st.*—Rain, off and on, all night, with a strong south wind. About daylight shifted to the north-west. Thick squalls of snow all day, with hail.

22*d.*—Cold and like for snow. The creek rose last night a few inches. The keel boat, after putting part of her load into canoes, made out to reach this place.

23*d.*—Mr. Ellicott set out in the Mohawk boat for Fort Pitt.

24*th.*—Set in to snow early in the morning; continued all day, night, and the most part of next day.

25*th.*—In the afternoon changed to a light rain. Had the ground been frozen and the snow not so wet, we would have had it twelve or fourteen inches deep. It was six inches this morning.

26*th.*—Sunday. Very foggy, cold and wet.

27*th.*—The snow all gone; weather moderate; creek rising. Robert M'Near, with a party of men, came on to open the road to Presqu' Isle.

28*th.*—Cloudy and raw weather. The creek in excellent boating order.

29*th.*—Moderate rain all day and most part of the night.

30*th.*—Partly clear; no rain to-day.

31*st.*—Rained last night and moderately all day. The creek higher than we have ever seen it before.

Nov. 1*st.*—Cleared off pleasant.

2*d.*—Fine day.

3*d.*—Hard rain all last night, and violent storms of wind and rain all day. The creek over its banks.

4*th.*—A constant rain all day and night.

5*th.*—Cleared away—moderate.

6*th.*—Pleasant, dry day; the creek beginning to fall.

7*th.*—Dry. The creek not yet within its banks.

8*th.*—A light rain off and on all last night; wet drizzling rain all day. The creek fell within its banks.

9*th.*—Sunday. Cloudy and raw.

10*th.*—Some snow and rain. This afternoon received instructions from the Governor to re-enlist the detachment.

11*th.*—Read the Governor's letter to the men.

12*th.*—Find that the men don't incline to enlist for six months. They are naked and dispirited, and no money among us to tempt them. Concluded upon engaging volunteers for a month. Cold and snow.

13*th.*—Snowed hard all day. Find a difficulty in persuading any of the men to stay even for one month.

14*th.*—Constant snow. Engaged as many as nineteen volunteers to stay and help the garrison until a relief comes on, which is promised before the 1st of January.

15*th.*—Moderate, with some snow. The creek falling fast, owing to the frosty nights.

16*th.*—Sunday. Deep snow last night; snowed hard all day. Preparing to start down the river.

17*th.*—Left Ensign Mehaffy, Quarter-master M'Cutcheon, and nineteen men, and embarked with the rest of my command in boats for Pitt. Hard snow all day. The creek tolerably full of water and difficult to navigate, owing to the great number of trees which fill up the channel. Two of our canoes overset and a couple of rifles lost. The day very cold; many of the men wet, being obliged frequently to jump into the water, and some thrown out. Halted six miles short of Cussewago.

18*th.*—Got under way very early, and was at Cussewago for breakfast; remained all day fixing the craft and repairing a keel boat which we found necessary to take along.

19*th.*—Fine day. Took the detachment that was at Cussewago on board the keel boat, with myself and a few men out of the canoes, and left that place about nine o'clock; got to Franklin about three without any difficulty.

20*th.*—Drew provisions at Franklin and cooked breakfast. The day very wet and cold. Got down within twelve or fifteen miles of Stump creek.

21*st.*—Very cold snowy day. The Allegheny high. Lay this night a few miles below Green's.

22*d.*—Reached Pittsburgh.

24*th.*—The Governor had left this but a few days. I found a new arrangement of the detachment intended for my command; that a Mr. Buchanan had been appointed captain, and already recruiting; had raised a number of men for Le Bœuf. Doctor Kennedy appointed surgeon to the detachment, and a flattering letter for

me, with the appointment of Major. This was pleasing information, as I had some doubts about getting recruits in time to relieve Ensign Mehaffy. Our leaving Le Bœuf so soon as we did, was that we might have the more time to enlist men, as we found it impossible to persuade any of them to engage there. No money to be had for the men.

25*th and* 26*th.*—Discharged the men.

Dec. 13*th.*—Started up Captain Buchanan for Le Bœuf with thirty-five recruits. The party lay four days on the opposite side of the river, waiting for pack horses; four only were provided. Doctor Kennedy was obliged to remain behind for want of a conveyance for his baggage.

Jan. 4*th*, 1795.—Ensign Mehaffy and Ensign M'Cutcheon, with the men left at Le Bœuf, arrived.

5*th.*—Discharged the remains of our command.

11*th.*—Lieutenant Hazlewood resigned his commission and took abrupt departure for Philadelphia.

Have leave of absence, with liberty, if necessary, to visit Philadelphia.

May 31*st.*—As every difficulty seems to have ceased, and my young family not in a situation to be left, have recommended the Governor to transfer the command and the duty of escorting the commissioners in laying out the towns, the only business now to be done, to Captain Buchanan, who appears well qualified for this service.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX No. I.

LETTERS.

In illustration of the foregoing Journal of Major Denny, it was thought that the letters of his friend and commander, written during the same period, on the same topics, might be interesting. With that view, the family of General Harmar kindly intrusted to us his whole military correspondence. Many letters were selected for publication for the reference they make to persons and occurrences there mentioned, and some indeed, for their own merit and their public value.

Lieut.-Col. Josiah Harmar to Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress.

New York, January 19th, 1784.

Sir—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived here this day. I left Annapolis the morning of the 15th, in the stage. On my arrival in Baltimore, I hired a sleigh, which conveyed me that night as far as Leggett's. Here I found a stage. On the morning of the 16th I took passage in it, and that night gained the head of Elk. Fortunately I here met his Excellency the Minister of France, who delivered me his dispatches. On the morning of the 17th, before day, I left the head of Elk in the stage, and gained Philadelphia in the evening. I instantly waited upon the honorable Mr. Morris, and produced to him the act of Congress, directing him to supply me with cash to bear my necessary expenses. He gave me one hundred and three pounds fifteen shillings cash, and a credit upon Paris. I then waited upon his Excellency the President of the State, and delivered him his letters. I engaged a sleigh to go on with me the next morning—lodged at your house that night—left

the ladies, Mrs. Suckey and Miss Beccy well. Sarago awakened me before day on Sunday morning, the 18th, and the sleigh being at the door, I was conveyed by fresh horses with great celerity that night as far as Newark, eighty-six miles. On the 19th, in the morning, the day being excessively stormy, I left Newark, and with great difficulty in the passage of the North river, arrived in New York that evening. I then instantly went on board the French packet, and was introduced to Monsieur D'Aboville, the captain, the Minister having given me a letter to him. I shall use every exertion at L'Orient to get forward to Paris and deliver the ratification of the treaty in time.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and affection,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency, THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq., President of Congress, Annapolis.

Same to same.

PARIS, April 8th, 1784.

SIR—I had the honor of addressing your Excellency on the 21st of February last, the day we left Sandyhook. I now have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival at L'Orient on the 25th ult., after a rough and stormy passage of thirty-three days. When we were seventeen days out we were near Cape Finisterre, which gave us every reason to expect our voyage would be completed in twenty days; but on the European coast, the strong eastwardly winds set in, which detained us a fortnight longer. Immediately upon my landing at L'Orient, I hired a voiture and went day and night by post—arrived at Paris on the 29th—delivered the dispatches Congress was pleased to intrust me with to his Excellency, Doctor Franklin, that evening, and took the necessary receipt for the same, agreeably to the private instructions received from your Excellency. In conversation the day before yesterday with Doctor Franklin, I informed him that I should send your Excellency advice of the time of my arrival and delivery of the public dispatches, and begged to know whether he thought any difficulties were likely to arise on account of the treaty not being exchanged agreeably to the stipulated time. The doctor gave me for answer, that he had written some time since to Laurens on the subject, and desired him to inform Mr. Hartley (the British commissioner) that the reason of the treaty not having arrived, must be owing to the inclemency of the season in America; and that if it should be judged necessary by the court of Great Britain, he thought that Mr. Laurens would do well to enter into an agreement for an extension of time. Mr. Hartley was ac-

cordingly informed of the above circumstances by Mr. Laurens, and his reply to Mr. Laurens was, that the court were satisfied with the reasons advanced, and that an extension of time was unnecessary. I therefore have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency *all is well.*

The Marquis de la Fayette intends sailing for America about the latter end of next month, and has very politely offered me a passage in the same vessel with him, which I shall embrace with pleasure. I had the honor of delivering your Excellency's letter to him; he desires me to present you his particular compliments.

For British politics, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the inclosed papers, which the Marquis has been obliging enough to favor me with Mr. Pitt is prime minister, and Mr. Fox has gained the Westminster election. I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

P. S.—No intelligence as yet of the arrival of Lieut. Colonel Franks at London with the triplicate of the treaty.

Same to same.

LONDON, May 5th, 1784.

SIR—Colonel Franks, whom I left in Paris, arrived about twelve days after me, and delivered his dispatches in London. The attention of the British nation seems to be at present principally engaged in the issue of the Westminister election. Your Excellency will be pleased to receive the inclosed papers. Fox and no Fox, is all the cry.

In the letter which I had the honor of writing you from Paris, I informed your Excellency that Mr. Fox had gained his point; but I was then mistaken; however, it is now beyond a doubt that he will succeed. I shall return to France the 12th of this month, and expect the Marquis de la Fayette, whom I shall accompany. Will be ready to sail about the 1st June. I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to John Dickinson, Esq.

FORT M'INTOSH, January 15, 1785.

SIR—A few days since the treaty commenced, and I believe will be satisfactorily concluded against the latter end of this month; although the chiefs of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Delawares and Ottawas (which are the nations that are assembled here), in a speech which they delivered at

the council-fire yesterday, held out an idea to the continental commissioners, that they still looked upon the lands which the United States held by the treaty with Great Britain, as their own. But the commissioners have answered them in a high tone; the purport of which was, that as they had adhered during the war to the King of Great Britain, they were considered by us as a conquered people, and therefore had nothing to expect from the United States, but must depend altogether upon their lenity and generosity. This spirited answer, it is supposed, will have the desired effect.

The State commissioners will not have the least difficulty in transacting their business, which lays with the Wyandot and Delaware nations.

I have the honor, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR,
Lt.-Col. Com'g. 1st Am. Reg't.

His Excellency JOHN DICKINSON, Esq., President the Honorable the Supreme Executive Council.

Same to John Armstrong, Secretary to Council, Philadelphia.

FORT M'INTOSH, May 24, 1785.

SIR—Inclosed be pleased to find a list of the officers who are willing to continue upon the present establishment.

Names and rank of the officers of the Pennsylvania line, who are at present in the service of the United States, and are willing to remain upon the establishment, agreeably to the Act of Congress of the 7th April, 1785.

NAMES.	RANK.	DATES OF APPOINTMENT.
Josiah Harmar,	Lieut.-Colonel,	12th August, 1784.
Walter Finney,	Captain,	12th August, 1784.
David Ziegler,	Captain,	12th August, 1784.
William M'Curdy,	Captain,	12th August, 1784.
Thomas Douglas,	Captain,	12th August, 1784.
Joseph Aston,	Lieutenant,	12th August, 1784.
Stewart Herbert,	Lieutenant,	12th August, 1784.
Ercureus Beatty,	Lieutenant,	12th August, 1784.
Thomas Doyle,	Lieutenant,	12th August, 1784.
John Armstrong,	Ensign,	12th August, 1784.
Ebenezer Denny,	Ensign,	12th August, 1784.
Nathan M'Dowell,	Ensign,	21st October, 1784.
John M'Dowell,	Surgeon,	12th August, 1784.
Richard Allison,	Mate,	12th August, 1784.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to General Knox.

FORT M'INTOSH, June 1, 1785.

SIR—The Wyandot and Delaware nations have brought in their prisoners (fifteen in number), agreeably to the treaty, and the hostages left in my possession are now dismissed. These nations are friendly. The Shawanees make great professions of peace. The Cherokees are hostile, and have killed and scalped seven people near the mouth of the Scioto, about three hundred and seventy miles from hence.

Speeches have been continually sending by the British, from Detroit to the Indians, since the treaty, and I have good intelligence that several traders have been amongst them, using all means to make them entertain a bad opinion of the Americans. One Simon Girty, I am informed, has been at Sandusky for that purpose.

Your most obedient servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Colonel Francis Johnston.

FORT M'INTOSH, June 21, 1785.

DEAR JOHNSTON—I am hourly expecting the arrival of the commissioners, as I understand a treaty is to be held at Post St. Vincent.

Between you and me, my dear Johnston, vain and ineffectual will all treaties be, until we take possession of the posts. One treaty held at Detroit would give dignity and consequence to the United States, and answer every purpose.

The British have been sending speeches among the Indians, continually, since the treaty was held at this place, the purport of which, you may be assured, was for no good. The first grand object, therefore (in my humble opinion), would be to dispossess them, and then we shall have the Indians friendly to our interest. The nations down the river have killed and scalped several adventurers who have settled on their lands.

I wish you were here to view the beauties of Fort M'Intosh. What think you of pike of 25 lbs.; perch of 15 to 20 lbs.; cat-fish of 40 lbs.; bass, pickerel, sturgeon, &c., &c.? You would certainly enjoy yourself. It is very fortunate there is such abundance of fish, as the contractor for this place, some time past, has failed in his supplies of beef. This would be a glorious season for Colonel Wood, or any extravagant lover of strawberries; the earth is most luxuriantly covered with them—we have them in such plenty that I am almost surfeited with them; the addition of fine rich cream is not lacking.

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to General Mifflin.

FORT M'INTOSH, June 25, 1785.

DEAR GENERAL—I am honored with your letter of the 7th May last, sent me by Major Prevost, of Pittsburgh. The pitiful reduction of the officers' pay, I am at a loss to account for.

The commissioners are daily expected for the treaty on the Wabash. In confidence, my dear General, I'll assure you, in my opinion, all these treaties will be ineffectual. Possessing the British posts ought to be the first grand object, then a treaty at Detroit would answer all purposes. The United States will never have either dignity or consequence among the Indians, until this is effected.

The official letter, inclosing you Dr. Franklin's receipt for the delivery of the treaty, &c., I hope you have received.

P. S.—The Indians down the river, viz., the Shawanees, Miamis, Cherokees and Kickapoos, have killed and scalped several adventurers—settlers on their lands.

Same to General Knox.

FORT M'INTOSH, July 1, 1785.

SIR—The cockade we wear is the union (black and white.) Perhaps it will be necessary to have a national one; if so, be pleased to send me your directions about the color. And if you should approve of a *national march* (without copying French or British), I should be glad to be instructed.

Same to same.

FORT M'INTOSH, July 16th, 1785.

SIR—On the 11th instant, I was informed that three chiefs (and twenty-five Indians) of the Six Nations had arrived at Fort Pitt, and wished very much to speak with the commanding officer. Agreeably to their desire, I rode up to Pittsburgh and met them in council; when to my great surprise the Cornplanter, the principal chief, had the original articles of the treaty which was concluded with them at Fort Stanwix, along with him, and toward the close of the speech, said they were burthensome, and wished to deliver them up. I have the honor to inclose to you their speech and my answer to it.

It is reported that a Mr. Brant has lately arrived from London, who (with the commanding officer of the British in that quarter) has informed the Six Nations that their lands were never ceded to the Americans by

the King of Great Britain. In consequence of which, these chiefs complain of being accused by their nations of treachery, and say they are in danger of their own people.

They have left Fort Pitt highly satisfied to appearance with the answer to their speech; but as long as the British keep possession of the posts, it is very evident that all treaties held by us with the Indians, will have but little weight with them.

Your most obedient servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major-General KNOX, Secretary at War, New York.

Same to Hon. Arthur Lee.

PHILADELPHIA, December 28, 1785.

DEAR SIR—The bearer, Doctor Wilkins, has some thoughts of contracting to supply the regiment with rations. From the recommendation of General Irvine of Carlisle, who offers to be his security for the performance of his engagements, I am induced to believe that he will use every exertion to please both officers and men. If, therefore, the terms which he may give in should be lower or as low as other applicants, I would beg leave to recommend him to your notice.

Same to General Knox.

PHILADELPHIA, May 7th, 1786.

I have just received the inclosed letters from Captain Finney at the Miami. The intelligence is truly alarming, and notwithstanding the fair reports of the commissioners concerning the peaceable disposition of the Indians, I am well convinced all their treaties are farcical, as long as the British possess the posts. The party of Indians alluded to in this letter as a reconnoitering party from Detroit, were discovered by Captain Strong near the garrison at M'Intosh. Upon a party being sent out, they fled, being about twenty in number. Duncan and Wilson's reports I have not inclosed, as they contain some reflections on General Butler, particularly mentioning his small influence among the different tribes of Indians. If you wish to see them, I shall inclose them per next opportunity.

Same to General Knox.

FORT PITT, July 3, 1786.

SIR—One John Bull (called by the Indians Shebo,) informs me that

he left Detroit on the 29th April, in company with one hundred Moravian Indians, men, women and children, and are at present about four miles from Cuyahoga—that they have crossed the lake with the intention to settle near their old towns on the Muskingum, where a party of the Indians were formerly massacred; but as they are too late in the season for planting, their intention is to remain and hunt near Cuyahoga until fall.

He further informs me, that on the 7th ultimo Commodore Grant, with Captain M'Kee, Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, with forty Indians, among whom were the Half-King, Baubee, Koon and Gusheways, a chief of the Ottawas and Chippewas, sailed from the mouth of Sandusky river for Canada. They gave out that they were going as far as Quebec, with a design to purchase the lands on the north side of the lake from the Indians, but it was generally supposed they were going no farther than Niagara to a treaty which Sir John Johnson (who was there) had invited them and the Six Nations to.

These Moravian Indians (among whom Bull resides), by what I can learn, have ever been friendly to the United States.

Same to Captain Finney, commanding officer of the Miami.

FORT HARMAR, at the mouth of the Muskingum, July 27, 1786.

SIR—I intend to appoint Mr. Denny Adjutant to the regiment, for which purpose he must repair here as soon as possible.

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, August 10, 1786.

SIR—Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 4th instant, Ensign Denny has arrived from the Miami, and brings intelligence that an expedition is forming under the command of General Clark, and authorized by the State of Virginia, to attack the Indians.

Extract from the Order Book of Lieut.-Col. Comm't. Josiah Harmar.

GARRISON ORDERS.

FORT HARMAR, at the mouth of the Muskingum, October 3, 1786.

Ensign Denny is appointed Adjutant of the regiment, and is accordingly to be obeyed and respected.

Same to Thomas Mifflin, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Pennsylvania.

FORT PITT, March 17, 1787.

The Muskingum river is about one hundred and eighty miles distant from here, at the mouth of which the fort stands. I have often wished during the hunting season (viz., the months of November and December), for the honor of your company at my post. Venison, bear, turkey, geese, ducks, &c., &c. You should have regaled upon the greatest abundance.

Be pleased to view the inclosed plan of the remains of some ancient works on the Muskingum, taken by a captain of mine, with his explanations.

Various are the conjectures concerning these fortifications. From their regularity I conceive them to be the works of some civilized people. Who they were, I know not. Certain it is, the present race of savages are strangers to any thing of the kind.

Same to Major Hamtramck.

FORT HARMAR, April 7, 1787

SIR—Permit me to congratulate you upon your promotion. I observe that the council of appointment have directed that you take rank from the 21st October, 1786. Lieut. Bradford is captain of artillery; Lieut. Smith, a captain of infantry; Ensign Peters, a lieutenant of infantry; Ensign Schuyler, lieutenant of artillery, and Matthew Ernest, lieutenant of infantry; the latter I conceive to be a new appointment.

Same to General Knox, Secretary at War.

FORT HARMAR, May 14, 1787.

During my short stay at the Falls, I endeavored to make myself acquainted with the politics of the country, and to gain as perfect a knowledge as I possibly could, of what was going forward amongst the inhabitants of Kentucky. The free navigation of the Mississippi is the general subject of discourse amongst them. The inhabitants to the westward of the Allegheny mountains are unanimously opposed to its being closed; if such a measure should take place they will look upon it as the greatest grievance, as the prosperity of the western world depends entirely upon this outlet.

Kentucky at present, by the returns of their county lieutenants, musters five thousand fighting men. You will please to judge what a flourishing

country this must be in the course of a few years, from the number of emigrants to it. Curiosity prompted me to order the officer of the day (Lieut. Denny) to take an account of the number of the boats, &c., which passed this garrison from the 10th of October, 1786, until the 12th of May, 1787: one hundred and seventy-seven boats, two thousand six hundred and eighty-nine souls, thirteen hundred and thirty-three horses, seven hundred and sixty-six cattle, and one hundred and two wagons, have passed Muskingum, bound for Limestone and the Rapids. If Congress should be of opinion that it will be expedient to shut the navigation, I think a respectable post at the mouth of the Ohio, or the Wabash, will be necessary; otherwise, from all appearances, the people will become so strong, in the course of a little time, as to force a trade, at all events.

Same to same.

CAMP AT VINCENNES, August 7, 1787.

Post Vincennes is a very considerable village, situate upon the Wabash, about one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth. It contains nearly four hundred houses (log and bark), out-houses, barns, &c. The number of inhabitants about nine hundred (souls) French, and about four hundred (souls) Americans. Monsieur Vincennes, the French officer from whom it derives its name, I am informed, was here and commenced the settlement sixty years ago.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 1st June, inclosing the contract of Mr. O'Hara with the Board of Treasury for the supply of the troops, &c.

Same to same.

KASKASKIA, November 24, 1787.

SIR—I marched on the 9th August from the post (Vincennes), with a subaltern, Ensign M'Dowell, and thirty men, through the prairies, and arrived at Kaskaskia on the 16th of the same month. Our march was very fatiguing, as the weather was excessively warm, and water very bad and scarce on the route. The distance is about one hundred and sixty miles; the French call it eighty leagues. I was accompanied by two Indians (Pachan, a Miami chief, and his comrade), who hunted and supplied the party with meat (buffalo and deer), both on the march and upon our return.

The prairies are very extensive, natural meadows, covered with long grass; one in particular, which we crossed, was eight leagues in breadth. They run, in general, from north to south, and like the ocean, as far as

the eye can see, the view is terminated by the horizon. Here and there a copse of wood is interspersed. They are free from brush and underwood, and not the least vestige of their ever having been cultivated. The country is excellent for grazing, and abounds in buffalo, deer, bear, &c. It is a matter of speculation to account for the formation of the prairies. The western side of the Wabash is overflown in the spring, for several miles.

On the 17th, I was visited by the magistrate and principal inhabitants of Kaskaskia, welcoming us upon our arrival. Baptiste De Coigne, the chief of the Kaskaskia Indians, paid me a visit in the afternoon, and delivered me a speech expressive of the greatest friendship for the United States; and at the same time presented me with one of the calumets, or pipes of peace, which is now sent on. Some of the Peoria Indians likewise visited me. The Kaskaskias, Peorias, Cahokia and Mitchi tribes compose the Illinois Indians. They are almost extinct at present, not exceeding forty or fifty, total.

Kaskaskia is a handsome little village, situate on a river of the same name, which empties into the Mississippi at two leagues distant from it. It is one hundred and five miles from the mouth of the Ohio; the situation low and unhealthy, and subject to inundation. The inhabitants are French, and much of the same class as those at Post Vincennes; their number is one hundred and ninety-one, old men and young. Having but very little time to spare, I left Lieutenant M'Dowell with the party at Kaskaskia, and on the 18th set out, accompanied by Mr. Tardiveau and the gentlemen of the village, for Cahokia. We gained Prairie du Rocher, a small village five French leagues distant from Kaskaskia, where we halted for the night.

On the 19th we passed through St. Philip, a trifling village three leagues distant from Prairie du Rocher, and dined at La Bellefontaine, six leagues farther. La Bellefontaine is a small stockade, inhabited altogether by Americans, who have seated themselves there without authority. It is a beautiful situation, fine fertile land, no taxation; and the inhabitants have abundance to live upon. They were exceedingly alarmed when I informed them of their precarious state respecting a title to their possessions, and have now sent on a petition to Congress by Mr. Tardiveau. On the same day we passed another small stockade, called Grand Ruisseau, inhabited by the same sort of Americans as those at La Bellefontaine, and arrived at Cahokia that evening. Cahokia is a village nearly of the size as that of Kaskaskia, and inhabited by the same kind of people; their number two hundred and thirty-nine, old men and young. I was received with the greatest hospitalitp by the inhabitants. There was a de-

cent submission and respect in their behavior. Cahokia is distant from Kaskaskia twenty-two French leagues, which is about fifty miles.

On the 21st, in consequence of an invitation from Monsieur Cruzat, the Spanish commandant at St. Louis, we crossed the Mississippi, and were very politely entertained by him. After dinner, we returned to Cahokia.

St. Louis (nicknamed Pancour) is much the handsomest and genteelest village I have seen on the Mississippi. It is about four miles distant from Cahokia, and five leagues above it the river Missouri unites with the Mississippi. The inhabitants are of the same sort as before described, excepting that they are more wealthy. About twenty regular Spanish troops are stationed here.

Exclusive of the intruders already described, there are about thirty more Americans settled on the rich fertile bottoms of the Mississippi, who are likewise petitioning by this conveyance.

On the 23d, I passed by the ruins of Fort Chartres, which is one league above the Prairie du Rocher, and situate on the Mississippi. It was built of stone, and must have been a considerable fortification formerly, but the post next the river has been carried away by the floods, and it is of no consequence at present. I staid about a quarter of an hour, but had not time to view it minutely, as it was all a thicket within. Several iron pieces of cannon are here at present, and also at the different villages. This evening I returned to Kaskaskia.

On the 24th, Monsieur Peruse, the Spanish commandant at St. Genevieve, sent me an invitation to pay him a visit. We crossed the Mississippi accordingly; were politely entertained, and after dinner returned to Kaskaskia.

St. Genevieve (nicknamed Misēre) is a village much inferior in every respect to St. Louis; it is about four miles (including the passage of the Mississippi,) from Kaskaskia. About eight or ten regular Spanish troops are stationed here.

We arrived, on the 7th of October, at the rapids of the Ohio. The distance from Post Vincennes is about one hundred and thirty miles. We saw no Indians nor signs of Indians. We had an action with five buffalo, who would have run through the column had they not been prevented by the men facing and firing a volley at them. They killed three of them.

I am happy to hear of General St. Clair's appointment as Governor of the Western Territory, as it will add to the dignity of Congress.

Same to General St. Clair.

FORT HARMAR, November 25th, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL—I am happy, very happy, to hear by Captain Beatty of your appointment to the government of the Western Territory. Permit me sincerely to congratulate you upon it.

Congress have been pleased to honor me with a brevet commission of Brigadier-General. I should be justly accused of ingratitude was I not to thank my old friend for his friendship and influence upon this occasion. I shall ever hold them in most grateful remembrance.

Mrs. Harmar sends her kind compliments to you. Major Duncan left here yesterday for the Falls.

I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, Esq., President of Congress.

Same to Major Wyllys, commanding at the Rapids of the Ohio.

FORT HARMAR, December 6, 1787.

DEAR MAJOR—General Knox has written to me, that there are some apprehensions that Brant, with a number of confederated Indians, may be hostile. It will therefore be expedient that each post should be upon its guard. You will please to inform Major Hamtramck of it.

Yours, sincerely,

JOS. HARMAR.

P. S.—You will perceive by the inclosed paper the inflammatory letter written by Captain Sullivan to the Spanish Minister. If he should set his foot on the western territory, I have orders to seize and confine him.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, December 9, 1787.

I have continued to order the officer of the day to take an account of the people emigrating down the river. From the 1st of June to this day there passed this garrison, bound for Kentucky, 146 boats, 3,196 souls, 1,371 horses, 165 wagons, 191 cattle, 245 sheep, and 24 hogs.

Same to Captain Heart, commanding officer at Venango.

FORT HARMAR, December 19, 1787.

SIR—Your letters of the 12th and 25th June inform me of the peace-

able disposition of the Indians at that period; but my latest letters from the War Office inform me, that there is great reason to suppose that the Indians will confederate under Brant, and that hostilities will commence on their part.

General St. Clair is appointed Governor of the Western Territory, and is to hold a grand treaty with them sometime next spring. In the meantime the utmost precaution is necessary on the part of the officers commanding at the different posts in order to guard against surprises.

You wish a name for your fortress. As it is in the State of Pennsylvani, let it be named *Fort Franklin.*

Same to General Knox.

Fort Harmar, January 10, 1788.

On the 6th of last month I wrote to Major Wyllys at the Rapids of the Ohio, and inclosed him a copy of the inflammatory letter written by Mr. Sullivan to his Excellency the Spanish Minister, and informed him, that if the said Sullivan should be found in the federal territory, I had orders to seize and confine him.

It is the universal sentiment of the inhabitants westward of the Allegheny mountains, that they ought to enjoy the free navigation of the Mississippi, but I very much question whether the Kentucky, Cumberland people, and those below, will have the audacity to attempt to seize upon the Natchez and New Orleans. Such an enterprise would certainly be a disgrace to the United States. I know of no cannon and the necessary apparatus which they have in their possession to carry on such an expedition. I shall transmit the duplicate of your letter of the 14th November and a copy of Sullivan's * letter to Major Brown and to Major Wyllys (as soon as the weather permits), with strict orders to watch closely and know the designs of those fellows down the river. I shall likewise give him directions to send an officer and two or three confidential persons to Franklin and Kentucky under pretense of exploring the country, in order that we may be made acquainted with their intended manœuvres. It appears to me that this matter will not be so serious as is imagined, but rather an evidence of the mutinous disposition of Sullivan and an insignificant banditti. Sullivan was the principal ringleader in the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line during the late war, and it is high time to put an end to his career. If he can be apprehended in Franklin,

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* Captain Sullivan, formerly in Moylan's dragoons.

or out of the federal territory, I should suppose myself justifiable in giving orders for that purpose.

We have had a remarkable spell of hard weather here ever since Christmas. The thermometer has been sixteen degrees below the zero point. The river is now fast bound with ice. As soon as the weather will permit, I shall send Major Wyllys the necessary orders respecting Sullivan and his adherents. If from the intellignce which I have given you respecting the inundation of the lands at the mouth of the Ohio, it should be judged advisable to fix upon some other tract of country to satisfy the claims of the late army, wherever Congress may be pleased to pitch upon said tract, I shall (agreeably to your directions) station an adequate body of troops in the vicinity thereof, in order that the surveyors may be protected in the execution of their business. I beg leave to observe that Fort M'Intosh is by no means tenable. The small party stationed there at present I propose to order to Fort Pitt, to receive stores, clothing, &c., and that the officer commanding there may forward them, also, any dispatches which may arrive from the War Office. It should have been evacuated last spring, but for the orders received from you countermanding the same. I shall direct Major Doughty to proceed there with a party early in the spring, and to dismantle it. The fort is built of hewn timber; it will be easy to raft it to this post, where it will be of service. If a communication should be wanting to Lake Erie, a block-house for the reception of stores can instantly be built near the Big Beaver.

Agreeably to your directions I have sent orders to the officers commanding at the several posts, to put the troops perfectly upon their guard, in order to avoid surprise, as from the intelligence you have transmitted me, there may be a probability of the Indians confederating under Brant, and committing hostilities. I am in hopes the general treaty, which the Governor of the Western Territory means to hold in the spring, will pacify the savages and settle all differences. Respecting the land reserved to satisfy the claims of the late army, to the best of my knowledge, the million of acres which is to be bounded south by the Ohio Company purchase, will be found to be excellent land, especially if it should take the land on the Muskingum and its branches, which I am led to imagine will be the case. From all accounts the Muskingum river inclines more to the eastward than is laid down in Captain Hutchins' map; if so, the tract reserved for the late army will be very valuable. The commercial situation of the land at the mouth of the Ohio, is fine indeed. It is a great misfortune that it is so subject to inundation. I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Tardiveau for more particular intelligence on this subject. It is my opinion that a million of acres adjoining the other million on the Muskingum,

would take in excellent land, and comprehend a very valuable tract of country.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major-General KNOX, Secretary at War.

From same to Dr. Wistar.

FORT HARMAR, at the Mouth of the Muskingum, Jan. 21, 1788.

DEAR SIR — I have been favored with your friendly letter of the 12th of September last. Some of the large bones which you request to be procured, I believe are yet to be found at the Big Bone Lick, about thirty-five miles below the Great Miami river. I am very sorry indeed that your letter did not reach me whilst at the Rapids of the Ohio. In November last I came up the river with the two companies, and had your letter been received in time I should have made a point of halting at the Lick, which is only two miles from the Ohio, and have searched for the bones, and if any were still remaining, should with great pleasure have forwarded them to Fort Pitt and from thence to Philadelphia. We have had remarkable hard weather at this post since the new year set in. I shall make the necessary inquiry next spring or summer, and if there is a possibility of procuring these bones, they shall be sent on for your friend in London, agreeably to your wish. Permit me to return you my most grateful acknowledgments for the friendship and civilities experienced from you when I had the pleasure of seeing you in London. I am extremely obliged to you for the European news which you have been pleased to transmit me.

Believe me to be, dear sir, with great esteem,

Yours sincerely,

JOS. HARMAR.

Doctor CASPAR WISTAR, Jr., at Philadelphia.

Same to Lieutenant Ernest.

FORT HARMAR, January 22, 1788.

SIR — I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d ultimo, by John Siddon, who was taken prisoner on the Wabash last summer. You inform that he was under obligation to pay the Moravian Indian who brought him into Fort Pitt, fifteen dollars, a shirt, a blanket and stroud; and that you had sent the Indian home with a promise of something being obtained for him, whenever the matter was represented

to me. As yet the soldier has not been mustered, but the paymaster shall be made acquainted with the circumstances, in order that when a settlement is made, the Indian may be satisfied. I am much obliged to you for the Pittsburgh newspapers which you were pleased to send on, and am, with esteem,

Your humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant ERNEST, commanding officer at Fort Pitt.

Same to Lieutenant Ford.

FORT HARMAR, January 29, 1788.

DEAR SIR—Early in the spring I expect Fort M'Intosh will be evacuated. You will be ordered with your party to Fort Pitt, to take command there. When the evacuation takes place I shall give you particular orders on the subject. The Killikenick which you were kind enough to send me, was very acceptable.

I am, dear sir, your humble servant.

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant FORD, commanding officer at Fort M'Intosh.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, March 9, 1788.

SIR — Mr. David Zeisberger, Missionary of the Moravian Indians, has written to me requesting an exchange of the corn at M'Intosh for an equivalent in powder, linen, &c., which request I shall grant, as we are in want of the corn for the public horses. The distance those Indians are from M'Intosh, prevents their bringing it from thence. On the 14th ultimo I received a message from Captain Pipe, the chief of the Delawares, who was hunting about fifty miles from hence, up the Muskingum, with thirty or forty of his nation. I answered his message, and on the 28th detached Ensign M'Dowell, with a party of a sergeant and fifteen privates, to view his situation, and sent him a message and a string of wampum—the messages are inclosed. On the 5th instant Ensign M'Dowell, with his party, returned, after having been treated with the utmost friendship and hospitality by the Indians at their hunting encampment. Yesterday old Captain Pipe, with seven of his young men, arrived at the garrison, and are now with me. Their object is to dispose of their skins to the

contractor. He is a manly old fellow, and much more of a gentleman than the generality of these frontier people.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major-General KNOX, Secretary at War.

Same to same.

FORT PITT, April 26, 1788.

SIR — I am now upon my tour to Venango, and shall ascend the Allegheny to-morrow, in order to visit Captain Heart's post. I left Muskingum on the 6th instant, and on the 7th met General Putnam and part of the Ohio Company. Be assured, sir, that every assistance and protection that is in our power, shall be rendered to this company. I make not the least doubt but a flourishing settlement will soon take place, as they are industrious, and quite a different set of people from these frontier men. I waited with great impatience for the arrival of General Putnam, and it would have afforded me peculiar pleasure to have been personally present with him, but Major Doughty, who commands during my absence, will (agreeably to your letter of instructions) give them every necessary assistance. Nicholson, the interpreter and messenger, who resides at this place, returned from Sandusky on the 17th instant. His intelligence is that the Indians will be late in assembling to the treaty, and that it is their determination to insist peremptorily on the Ohio river as the boundary. I do not think that full faith and credit is to be given to his intelligenee. Be pleased to receive the inclosed monthly return of the regiment, dated the 1st instant; also a profile of north view of Captain Heart's works. I have directed Captain Heart to make out a map of the country from Venango to Lake Erie, which I shall shortly have the honor of transmitting to you.

I have the honor, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Captain Heart.

FORT PITT, May 20, 1788.

SIR—By Sergeant Huntley I had the pleasure of receiving your letter and the map inscribed to the Secretary at War, which shall be forwarded to him. The bearer, Captain Beatty, now visits your post in order to pay the men under your immediate command. On his return you will please transmit me all the Indian intelligence which you can collect, as we do not know what the result of this grand treaty may be. I cannot too strongly

impress upon you the necessity of the utmost vigilance in order to guard against surprise. You are out of all manner of support, and your dependence must be entirely upon yourself. The cranberries were very acceptable; I am much obliged to you for them. Be pleased to present my compliments to Lieutenant Frothingham.

I am, sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain HEART, commanding officer at Fort Franklin.

P. S. — Inclosed I send you the plats of my donation lands, likewise a plat of Captain Irwin's land, which I wish you to endeavor to find out and let me know the quality.

Same to Doctor M'Dowell.

FORT PITT, May 21, 1788.

DEAR SIR—I have received your letter of the 20th of May, inclosing your commission and a letter for Captain Beatty. He left this place yesterday for Venango, but will be here again next Sunday; your letter shall be delivered to him. Be assured, sir, that I wish you all possible happiness a civil life can afford, and am,

Your very humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Doctor JOHN M'DOWELL.

Same to Dr. Wistar.

FORT HARMAR, June 9, 1788.

DEAR SIR—The bearer, Captain Armstrong, will deliver to you several bones of the huge, unknown animal, with an explanation of them. I am very sorry that it was out of the power of the officer to procure some thigh bones, but I shall endeavor, at some future period, to send you them.

I am, my dear sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your very humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Doctor CASPAR WISTAR, Jr., Philadelphia.

Same to General Mifflin.

FORT HARMAR, June 9, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL — Your very agreeable letter of the 9th of May, was handed to me by Colonel Olney. Ensign Spear, on his return from

Post Vincennes, was fired upon by some vagabond Wabash Indians. He lost only two men. Mr. Melcher was on board the boat. The fire was returned from the troops; they fired two rounds instantly, but the savages have great advantage over boats ascending the river. I sincerely hope that the new government will shortly be adopted, and that the next treaty (provided the present intended one has not the desired effect,) may be held with the savages with fifteen hundred or two thousand troops. Mr. Melcher brought with him from Post Vincennes a Piankeshaw bow and quiver of arrows, also a Piankeshaw pipe, which he begged me to present to you. The bearer, Captain Armstrong, takes with him a grinder of the huge unknown beast, supposed by some to be the elephant. Mr. Jefferson in his Notes calls it the mammoth; likewise a petrifaction of the honey comb, or wasp's nest, I know not which. These are the only curiosities which I can at present offer to you. Captain Armstrong will deliver you two venison hams and some pecan nuts, the produce of the Wabash, which I beg you to accept. My best wishes attend Mrs. Mifflin and your worthy family.

I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Mr. Ross.

FORT HARMAR, June 14, 1788.

DEAR SIR — I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 5th of June, relative to one Jacob Countz, a Dutchman, who, you inform me, had deserted your part of the country with a view of defrauding his creditors. The fellow resides on the island a little above the garrison. Instantly upon the receipt of your letter I sent a file of men for him and brought him to the garrison. In presence of Mr. Duncan, he has promised to be honest and pay his just debts. Captain Beatty is now paying the troops; it is more than probable that this Countz will receive some money. I shall be happy to have it in my power to make him do justice to his creditors.

I am, dear sir, with esteem, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

JAMES ROSS, Esq., at Pittsburgh.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, June 14, 1788.

Respecting the dispute of rank between Captains Ziegler and Ferguson, Major Doughty and myself are both clearly and decidedly of opinion that

Captain Ferguson is the senior officer. The case of Ensign Denny and Ensign Spear was exactly similar. I am surprised that Captain Ziegler should trouble the State of Pennsylvania about it. You were pleased to decide in favor of Ensign Spear, which was conclusive. If Captain Ziegler, through his efforts with the State, should obtain rank of Captain Ferguson, certainly Ensign Denny, upon the same principle, is senior to Ensign Spear. It is my ardent wish that the new government may speedily be adopted, and that all these State affairs may cease. We may then hope for order and regularity.

Same to Captain Heart.

FORT HARMAR, June 21, 1788.

SIR — Your letter of the 19th of May, was handed to me at Fort Pitt by the Indian chief, Shundaushuawan. I directed him to remain at Fort Pitt until the arrival of General Butler, and then to inform him of several of the white people having moved into their lands in the Genessee country, and having built houses, &c. From what I can learn, these people are not countenanced in their proceedings, either by the States of New York or Massachusetts. Be pleased to present my compliments to Lieutenant Frothingham. I am obliged to him for the east view of this garrison, which he was kind enough to inclose to me. In my last letter I mentioned that the utmost vigilance was necessary at your post, in order to guard against surprise, as you are out of supporting distance, and more especially as the time of the men expires so soon. I am convinced that it is unnecessary to repeat these instructions. I hope to be able to reinforce you soon.

I am, sir, with much esteem, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Mr. Muhlenberg.

FORT HARMAR, June 30, 1788.

DEAR SIR — I had the honor to address council on the 24th of April, from Fort Pitt, upon the subject of the Treasurer of Pennsylvania's three drafts on the County Treasurers of Westmoreland, Washington and Fayette, for monies for the recruiting service, and to inform your honorable body that there was a likelihood of obtaining nothing but the paper currency for them, and at the same time praying that some other arrangements might speedily be made in order to obtain specie, as paper would not answer the purpose; since which I have to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from the honorable the Vice President in council the one

dated the 18th of April, the other the 16th of May last. The former inclosed our State commissions; the latter, I observe, desires that the final determination on the rank of ensigns Denny and Spear, may remain suspended until I have an opportunity to lay their several pretensions before the board. Respecting the dispute of rank between these gentlemen, a board of officers was convened a twelve month ago, in order to determine it. I did not choose to give my opinion at that time concerning it, but referred the proceedings to the Secretary at War, who was pleased to decide in favor of Ensign Spear, upon this principle, that Ensign Denny could not by virtue of his one year's service (which was considered as militia rank from the act of Congress of the 3d of June, 1784,) take rank of Ensign Spear, whose rank was derived from continental service. In consequence of this decision of the Secretary at War, orders have long since been issued by me, at this post, announcing Ensign Spear as the senior officer. I have been informed that Captain Ziegler is contesting rank with Captain Ferguson. The same principle which decides the rank of Ensign Denny and Ensign Spear, I presume, should operate in the case of Captain Ferguson and Captain Ziegler. The query is, whether the one year's service was militia or continental rank? If council should be of opinion that the one year's service was militia rank, Captain Ferguson is undoubtedly senior to Captain Ziegler. As the right of finally judging upon this case rests with your honorable body, I beg leave to offer the following observation. Captain Ferguson is now absent at Post Vincennes, and perhaps has not in council one friend to advocate his cause. He is an officer of distinguished and superior abilities in the artillery department. The consequence will be, that if Captain Ziegler obtains rank of him, he will instantly resign, which will be a loss, not only to the State of Pennsylvania, but the States in general. I question very much, whether an officer of equal abilities of his grade and in his line, can be furnished by any State in the Union. Doctor John M'Dowell has resigned his commission on the 1st instant. The surgeon's mate, Richard Allison, is fully qualified, I believe, to succeed him. There will be a vacancy now for a surgeon's mate from our State. Doctor Scott, the surgeon's mate of the Jersey quota, begs me to recommend a friend of his, Mr. John F. Carmichael, (a native of Pennsylvania). I have no knowledge of the young gentleman, but from Doctor Scott's representation, I beg leave to recommend him to fill the vacancy, provided the honorable council thinks it proper, and has no other person in view.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable PETER MUHLENBERG, Esq.,
Vice President in Council, Pennsylvania.

Same to Major Wyllys.

FORT HARMAR, July 16, 1788.

DEAR MAJOR—By this conveyance Ensign Denny sends both for you and Major Hamtramck, your proportion of stationery. I never conceived Sullivan's letter to be of such an alarming nature as the Secretary at War imagined it. Lieutenant Armstrong's report fully convinces me that the matter was highly blown, and that no mutinous designs are in agitation, either in the country called the State of Franklin, the Cumberland settlements, or the district of Kentucky. If Sullivan should set his foot in the Western Territory, endeavor to have him apprehended, but no where else.

JOS. HARMAR.

Major WYLLYS, Commanding officer at the Rapids of Ohio.

Same to Captain Heart.

FORT HARMAR, July 28, 1788.

SIR—The view of the works on French creek, also a map inscribed to President Franklin, have been received. Corporal Morgan delivered the public boat which was built at your post. The boards with which she was loaded, being part public and part private property, were received by Ensign Denny, who acts as quarter-master during the absence of Lieutenant Pratt.

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Captain Ziegler.

FORT HARMAR, August 7, 1788.

DEAR SIR—I have received your several letters from Philadelphia and one from Carlisle. I expect this will find you at Fort Pitt. The Six Nations are on their way by water to the treaty, which is to be held at this post. I am informed that several vagabonds in the neighborhood of Wheeling, mean to fire upon these Indians on their passage down the Ohio to this post. Such a step might be attended with ruinous consequences. You are hereby ordered to take the said Indians under your protection and safely escort them to this garrison. Treat them kindly, and if any of these lawless rascals should presume to fire upon them, you are ordered to land and attack them in return, for their insolence and defiance of the supreme authority.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain DAVID ZIEGLER, at Fort Pitt.

Same to Lieutenant Ernest.

FORT HARMAR, October 8, 1788.

DEAR SIR—Be pleased to deliver to Major Kirkpatrick the inclosed two bank notes, of twenty dollars each, and tell the generous Major, that he may shortly expect a final settlement. Permit me to congratulate you upon your nuptials. I wish you and Mrs. Ernest[1] (in which Mrs. Harmar joins me,) every happiness the marriage state can afford.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant ERNEST, commanding officer at Fort Pitt.

Same to Major Hamtramck.

FORT HARMAR, October 13, 1788.

DEAR MAJOR—You will act properly in seizing and confining the Gross Tete, or any other villains who were accessory to the murder committed at Sullivan's Station. I observe by your letter of the 12th of August, the severe stroke which the party under Lieutenant Peters has received. The intelligence has been transmitted to the War Office. The new government I hope will soon operate, and expect in the course of the next year we shall not tamely suffer the subjects of the United States to be murdered by these perfidious savages. The savages are, in my opinion, hatching a great deal of mischief. I have detached a captain's command, with Captain Hutchins, the geographer, for his protection to the mouth of the Scioto, in order to survey the exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase, which weakens this garrison considerably, at the present moment more especially. Let your fort be named *Fort Knox.*

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Major HAMTRAMCK, commanding at Vincennes.

Same to Major Wyllys.

FORT HARMAR, December 9, 1788.

DEAR MAJOR—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 1st and 13th ultimo. I am sorry to observe your ill state of health, and that of your garrison. The Falls is certainly a very unhealthy position; I wish you to make the proper inquiry concerning the route to Chota, and transmit it to me. I have directed Ensign Denny to furnish you with as many camp kettles, knapsacks and haversacks as we

[1] Judge William Wilkins' sister.

can spare. It is a mortifying affair that you were obliged to call upon the militia for the cattle escort. It is my wish that not a single officer of the regiment may ever have the mortifying disgrace of being subjected to militia command, but suppose in the present case you found it unavoidable. I wish you to be made fully acquainted with the proceedings of the convention and the politics of Kentucky, and transmit me the intelligence. There is a Mr. Conolly now at Louisville, very likely for no good purposes; you know his base character. It will be well to keep a watchful eye over him. The Governor has written to you upon the occasion. We are at length likely to have a treaty, as the Indians are on their way and near at hand to this post. Please transmit the rolls to Captain Beatty; through the wilderness I think will be the safest and most expeditious conveyance. Captain Ashton's men are to be mustered from the expiration of their old enlistments, which will make their time of service the regular six years.

Mrs. Harmar desires her compliments may be presented to you and the officers of the garrison, and believe me to be with very great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Major WYLLYS, commanding officer at Fort Steuben,
at the Rapids of the Ohio.

Same to General Mifflin.

FORT HARMAR, December 12, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL—It affords me singular happiness to hear of your appointment to the presidency of the State. Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you upon the occasion. Your introductory letter in favor of Captain Bartlet, has been received. I understand that he is somewhere up the river with his family, and does not mean to visit our quarter until spring; upon his arrival every attention in my power shall be paid him. As for the news, we are at length likely to have a treaty. Brant has been using all his influence to prevent the savages holding it at this post, but a number of nations are now near at hand, and are expected in the course of two or three days. Brant has decamped and drawn off as many as he could, but notwithstanding, his influence is not so universal as was imagined. It is a difficult matter for our yellow brethren to enter into a general confederacy and to preserve it. They are much divided in their councils. The bearer, Captain Ferguson, is a very worthy officer; suffer me to recommend him to your notice. Be pleased to present my most af-

fectionate regard to Mrs. Mifflin and Mrs. Talbot, in which Mrs. Harmar joins me.

And believe me to be, most sincerely, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq.,
President of the State of Pennsylvania.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, December 15, 1788.

SIR—Lieutenant Kersey was at the Great Kanahwa (eighty-nine measured miles from this garrison) on the 1st instant; the party all well. I have not heard of the party under Ensign M'Dowell, but am in hopes that he has not been interrupted. My calculation is, that before Christmas the two exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase will be completed. The geographer is at present sick at Fort Pitt. If he was able to come down and take the latitude of the northern corner of the tenth township of the seventh range, Mr. Ludlow, who is a smart active young fellow, could run the northern boundary; the purchase money could then be paid, that business finished, and in the spring the next affair would be, to take up Judge Symmes' purchase. Several chiefs of the different nations arrived at this post the day before yesterday. The inhabitants of Kentucky, I am informed, have it in contemplation to declare themselves not only independent of the State of Virginia, but of the United States altogether. I have written to Major Wyllys to make me acquainted with their politics, and to watch closely the conduct of a certain Mr. Conolly, who has hired a house at the Falls, and from his base character, can certainly be planning no good for the United States.

I have the honor, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major-General KNOX, Secretary at War, New York.

Same to Lieutenant Frothingham.

FORT HARMAR, December 15, 1788.

SIR—I have directed Ensign Denny to send you by this conveyance, one thousand white wampum. I must impress upon you in the strongest terms the absolute necessity of the utmost vigilance at Fort Franklin, in order to guard against surprise. I observe that great harmony still subsists between the troops and the Senecas who are hunting in the vicinity

of your garrison; but all our yellow brethren seem to be perfidious; I would have you, therefore, never to be off your guard.

I am, sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant EBENEZER FROTHINGHAM, commanding officer at Fort Franklin.

Same to Captain John Irwin, at Fort Pitt.

FORT HARMAR, January 20, 1789.

DEAR SIR—I owe Major Kirkpatrick three half-johannes, which I wish you to pay as soon as you can make it convenient.

I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain JOHN IRWIN, at Fort Pitt.

Same to Major Wyllys.

FORT HARMAR, January 22, 1789.

DEAR MAJOR—It is not improbable but that two companies will be ordered to be stationed at the mouth of the Great Miami, not only as a better cover for Kentucky, but also to afford protection to Judge Symmes in his intended settlement there. It appears to me that there is an absolute necessity for a party to be stationed at the Rapids, their sole object should be to furnish escorts, &c., to supply Major Hamtramck with provisions. If the two companies should be ordered to take post at or near the mouth of the Great Miami, provisions can be conveniently laid in and forwarded from Limestone by Lieutenant Schuyler.

I am, dear Major, &c.

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to David Duncan.

FORT HARMAR, February 25, 1789.

Let me know, by the first opportunity, whether you will purchase my black horse or not. I paid twenty-five pounds, specie, for him. There is a balance due from me to Captain O'Hara; if it does not suit you to take the horse, perhaps you can arrange the business with him. If he take him and credit me with the above sum of £24, it will answer the same end. Your obedient servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Nicholas Way.

FORT HARMAR, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, March 12th, 1789.

DEAR SIR—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your introductory letter, in favor of Captain Israel Gilpin and his family. They halted but an hour or two at this garrison, being bound for the district of Kentucky. It will give me peculiar pleasure to afford, not only them but any other gentlemen whom you may please to recommend to my notice, every protection and countenance in my power.

Your observations respecting the proper names to be given to towns, rivers, islands, &c., in the settlement of the western country, I think to be very just. The original Indian names are generally expressive of some peculiar and distinguishing quality or circumstance, and I am clearly of opinion with you that they ought to be adopted in preference to our copying names from England and other parts of Europe.

I am, dear sir, with very great esteem,

Your friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Doctor NICHOLAS WAY, at Wilmington, State of Delaware.

Same to Honorable James White.

FORT HARMAR, March 22, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR—I had the honor of receiving your letter from Limestone, and have, agreeably to your request, sent down your bridle (which my servant forgot to deliver) to Mr. Lacassagne.

We have nothing new in this quarter. A vast deal of industry is displayed by our New England brethren, in their settlement on the opposite shore. They will soon be in a very flourishing condition, especially as they expect a number of emigrators from their several States, to join them in the course of the ensuing summer

With very great esteem and regard,

JOS. HARMAR.

To the Honorable JAMES WHITE, Member of Congress at New York.

Same to Lieutenant Ernest.

FORT HARMAR, April 27, 1789.

DEAR SIR—The clergyman, Mr. Story, at last arrived with my dispatches; perhaps he might have been a little dilatory in the delivery of

them; but he appears to me, to be a gentleman of liberal sentiments, and I shall notice him accordingly.

I observe that the post rider makes a practice of bringing small matters for the people in Pittsburgh, under twelve pounds weight. If I should have occasion to employ him, I will write to you to be so good as to attend to it. The garden which you have laid out, commanding a view of the three rivers, must be beautiful indeed by your description. You need be under very little apprehension of a removal, as I shall always want an officer stationed at Fort Pitt. Be pleased to acquaint Mr. Devereux Smith that his runaway servant, whom he wrote to me about, was apprehended at this garrison, and Lieutenant Pratt sent him up the river a few days since, in Mr. Wilkins' canoe.

I am, &c.

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant MATTHEW ERNEST, commanding officer at Fort Pitt.

Same to Major Doughty.

FORT HARMAR, April 28, 1789.

DEAR MAJOR—I am hourly expecting the arrival of Mr. Hackenwelder, the Moravian Missionary, at which time I shall afford another subaltern's command to Major Sargent, for his protection, as he has the surveying of the lands up the Muskingum, granted by Congress to the Moravian Indians. The new government, I suppose, engages the whole attention of all ranks and degrees. I sincerely hope that by this time General Washington has the reins and has set the wheels in motion. All is peace and quietness in this quarter, at least nothing has come to my knowledge to the contrary. The New England gentlemen are extremely industrious; Campus Martius is nearly completed. Gay circles of ladies, balls, &c., which I have neither time nor inclination to frequent, these are the changes which in three years this wilderness has undergone. Mrs. Harmar presents you her best respects.

I am, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Major JOHN DOUGHTY, commandant of artillery at New York.

Same to Mr. Hillegas.

FORT HARMAR, April 30, 1789.

DEAR SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter by Captain Bradford, and now send you some more of the buffalo wool, of a superior quality

to the former. In the months of February and March, is the time the wool is in proper season. I am apprehensive what was at first sent will not answer your purpose. But few buffalo are killed in the vicinity of the Muskingum. When I was in your office at Philadelphia, if I recollect right, you gave me a detail of the Rhode Island hero's exploits with the Prussian General; some part of them I have forgotten; when you have a leisure moment, I will thank you to relate the matter to me, as I wish to laugh a little upon the occasion.

I am, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS, Continental Treasurer at New York.

Same to Lieutenant Spear.

FORT HARMAR, May 25, 1789.

SIR — You will continue to transmit me all the Indian intelligence which may come to your knowledge, and let not the least occurrence worthy of notice escape your attention. It is unnecessary for me to remind you that the utmost vigilance is always necessary at your post, in order to guard against surprise. Respecting your rank, as I mentioned to you in my former letter, I have used every exertion in my power in your behalf, but council have determined the matter against you, as you will see by the inclosed copy of their proceedings, which came to hand a few days since, inclosing a State commission of a Lieutenancy for Mr. Denny.

I am, sir, with esteem, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant EDWARD SPEAR, commanding officer at the Falls of Beaver.

Same to General Howell.

FORT HARMAR, August 31, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR — It afforded me singular satisfaction when I heard of your being appointed to your present office; permit your friend sincerely to congratulate you upon the occasion. You have been so obliging as to forward me the Federal Gazette which Beatty has subscribed for, which demands my thanks. Be kind enough to continue forwarding that paper, as I think it a very useful one. I have had it in contemplation, amidst the general joy, to address our illustrious President, in behalf of the regiment, but so much time has elapsed that it is more than probable an address now would rather be out of season. This I am very confident of,

that every officer, one and all of us, entertain the highest love and veneration for his character, and pray heaven to prosper his administration.

Mrs. Harmar desires to be affectionately remembered to you, and accept my best wishes for your health and happiness.

Believe me to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

JOSEPH HOWELL, Jr., Esq., Paymaster-General at New York.

Same to Lieutenant Ernest.

FORT HARMAR, September 12, 1789.

DEAR SIR—I am very glad to hear of the birth of your son, and congratulate you thereupon. I consent to your having granted Mr. Turnbull permission to run a fence for the conveniency of his pasture on the Allegheny river, but take care and suffer no further encroachments. Messrs. Craig and Turnbull have been long trying, at the War Office, to obtain the sole possession of the area and the buildings (I believe) of Fort Pitt, but without success.

With great esteem, &c., J. H.

Same to General Knox.

FORT HARMAR, September 12, 1789.

DEAR SIR — Major Doughty informs me in his letter dated the 21st ultimo, that he arrived at the Little Miami on the 16th, and after reconnoitring for three days from thence to the Big Miami, for an eligible situation whereon to erect the works for head-quarters, he had at length determined to fix upon a spot opposite Licking river, which he represents as high and healthy, abounding with never failing springs, &c., and the most proper position he could find for the purpose.

Same to Captain Irwin.

FORT HARMAR, September 21, 1789.

DEAR SIR — I have received your letter of the 1st of August, and am really sorry to find that Captain Christie disappointed you in not honoring your draft for the two hundred dollars specie; the delay on this occasion has been no loss to me; therefore your looking on yourself bound to make restitution is needless. Upon the whole, unless you meant to reside here with your family, I believe it is full as well for you not to have a concern in the purchase.

If there should be an addition to the present establishment, you may be assured, sir, it will afford me peculiar pleasure to be in any degree instrumental in procuring you a commission, or serving you all in my power. Your merits as an officer are well known to me, and I am certain the President of the United States has not forgotten you. One thing is to be observed, that the officers serving on the present establishment ought, in my opinion, to be advanced first and I shall exert all my influence in their favor; but if an addition takes place, as it certainly must in a short time, you may depend on my interest to serve you as far as I think compatible with the good of the regiment, and so as not to prejudice the feelings of the officers now in the service.

Be pleased to present my compliments to Mrs. Irwin and your sister, and believe me to be

Your friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain JOHN IRWIN, at Pittsburgh.
(Favored by Mr. Vigo.)

Same to Colonel Francis Johnston.

FORT HARMAR, September 22, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR — The bearer, Mr. Vigo, is a gentleman from Post Vincennes, a friend of mine; he has always behaved with the utmost attention to the officers and troops stationed in that quarter; permit me to recommend him to your notice. Any civilities you may show him, shall be looked upon as given to your humble servant. He will present you with a head of a curious fish, from Mr. Armstrong.

Mrs. Harmar desires her best respects may be offered to Mrs. Johnston and yourself. I wish you would write me frequently, and do not attribute it to negligence if you do not receive frequent answers, as without flattery (which I detest), there is no person for whom I have a greater esteem. I am shortly going to make my head-quarters down opposite Licking river.

Adieu,

JOS. HARMAR.

Colonel FRANCIS JOHNSTON, Philadelphia.

Same to General Butler.

FORT HARMAR, September 28, 1789.

DEAR SIR—I received your friendly letter of the 15th instant, by Captain Heart, wherein I observe that Pittsburgh is your present place of

residence. Your humble servant is a bird of passage. Sometime the latter end of next month, or beginning of November, I shall move down the river, bag and baggage (leaving Ziegler's and Heart's companies at this post for the protection of our New England brethren), and shall fix my head-quarters opposite Licking river. I am in hourly expectation of the Governor.

Mrs. Harmar and myself beg to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Butler, yourself and family. I hope that game leg of yours is perfectly recovered. The tea sent by Lieutenant Humphrey was very good; will you be pleased to send him my compliments, with thanks for the same. Don't forget to write to me, and believe me to be,

Your friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

General RICHARD BUTLER, at Pittsburgh.

Same to Thomas Mifflin, Esq., Philadelphia.

FORT HARMAR, November 9, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL—It would afford me great happiness if you could steal three or four months from the Atlantic, and spend them with me. I am now on the wing, expecting to move down the Ohio in a few days, and to fix head-quarters opposite the mouth of the Licking river, about three hundred miles below this garrison, where I should be proud of being honored with your company. Venison, two or three inches deep cut of fat, turkeys at one pence per pound, buffalo in abundance, and cat-fish of one hundred pounds weight, are stories that are by no means exaggerated. I am going to a country where there is a much greater plenty of game than there is here at present. Our New England brethren are a very industrious set of people. With the protection afforded them by the troops (which they acknowledge with great gratitude), they have converted the wilderness into a fine state of cultivation. Their settlement bids fair to be very flourishing. Cornfields, gardens, &c., now appear in places which were lately the habitation of wild beasts. Such are the glorious effects of industry.

The bearer, Lieutenant Denny, is my adjutant; his long and faithful services claim my warmest regard for him; permit me to introduce him to your civilities. Will you be so kind as to offer my respects to Mentges and Fullerton? Craig I shall shortly write to.

Believe me to be, with the greatest esteem and affection,

Your Excellency's obliged friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant Denny to General Harmar.

PITTSBURGH, November 22, 1789.

DEAR GENERAL—We did not arrive here until the 19th, owing to bad oars, indifferent oarsmen, and meeting two smart floods; however, we got safe, and had the pleasure to find Major Wyllys, Captain Beatty, Captain Mercer, Lieutenant Peters, Ensign Sedam and Doctor Allison in town. They arrived two days before us. The Governor is expected in town to-morrow or next day. His boat is here waiting for him, and Mr. William St. Clair, who came from Detroit to Fort Harmar last winter, accompanies him down the river. I have endeavored to impress Mr. Elliott with a just idea of the condition of the posts below with respect to provisions. He says he feels more concerned than we possibly can. He goes down himself in a few days.

I am very sorry, indeed, that I have to inform you of the loss of one of the most serviceable members of the Western Territory, General Parsons. He left the old Moravian town up Beaver early on the 17th, on board a canoe, accompanied only by one man. Sent his horses down by land. About one o'clock that day, as we entered the mouth of the creek we met the wreck of a canoe, with a good deal of her cargo drifting down, all separately. Part of the loading we took up. When we got to the block-house, Mr. M'Dowell told us they had taken up a piece of the canoe, a bundle of skins, and had seen a pair of saddle-bags, which were well known to be the judge's, and the same evening the man arrived with the horses, and told us he left the judge early that morning about twenty-five miles up the creek, that he intended to dine that day with Mr. M'Dowell at the block-house, and the man knew the property which we took up to be part of what was in General Parson's canoe, leaves no doubt of his being lost in attempting the Falls of Beaver. The canoe was very much shattered, and bottom uppermost, when we met her. Mr. M'Dowell has made search on both sides the creek, above and below the falls, but can make no further discovery, more than finding part of the canoe at the foot of a remarkably dangerous fall in the creek, which strengthens the belief that there the old gentleman met his fate.

I shall be glad to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Harmar, while I remain, &c.,

E. DENNY.

General Harmar to Lieut. Ernest.

FORT HARMAR, November 27, 1789.

DEAR SIR—My last letter was dated the 10th instant, and forwarded

by Lieutenant Denny, since which I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters.

The three fellows of Captain Mercer's party whom you sent on by Sergeant Hays, received a proper flagellation at this post, for the robberies committed by them at Pittsburgh; they have every appearance of villains. You had better inform Captain Beatty that you paid $25.06 to release Johnson, the recruit, from the hands of the constable, in order that the stoppages may be made for you. The five muskets, five bayonets and belts, five cartridge boxes and belts, and Mrs. Harmar's saddle, together with my large Kentucky boat, were all safely delivered by Sergeant Hays.

Respecting the office of Pay-master to the regiment, I make not the least doubt that you will have a great majority of votes for it, now Beatty is promoted; this you may depend upon, you shall have all my interest and influence upon the occasion, as I am certain there is no officer in either of the corps equally qualified with yourself to fill it.

I believe I am in arrears to Captain Irwin, if he has paid Major Kilpatrick the three half-johannes which I owed him; if so, give my compliments to Captain Beatty, and tell him to reimburse Captain Irwin and charge the same to my account. Will you be pleased to present my compliments also to Major Wyllys and the other officers at Fort Pitt.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem, your humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieut. MATT. ERNEST, comm. officer at Fort Pitt.

Same to the Committee of the Ohio Company, &c.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, January 8, 1790.

GENTLEMEN—I received your polite address, and thank you for your affectionate wishes for my welfare. Be assured, gentlemen, that I left Muskingum with regret. It always gave me pleasure to advance the interests of the Ohio Company, and although absent from you at present, the time may come when I shall again be with you. That your settlement may continue rapidly to increase and flourish, and you, gentlemen, experience every degree of prosperity and happiness, is the sincere and ardent wish of one who is, with the greatest esteem and affection,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

To Colonel SPROAT, Colonel MEIGS, Rev. Dr. STORY, Mr. C. GREENE, Mr. PAUL FEARING, Commodore WHIPPLE, General TUPPER, Mr. WOODBRIDGE, Major SERGEANT, Mr. PARSONS, and Colonel SHEPARD—addressors in behalf of the Ohio Company, and the inhabitants of the settlement at Marietta.

Same to General Knox.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, January 14, 1790.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th October last, to which I shall now particularly reply.

The Governor of the Western Territory arrived at this post on the 2d instant, and departed from hence on the 5th for the Illinois country. I furnished him, agreeably to his request, with an escort of fifty chosen men, under the immediate command of Lieut. Doyle. Major Wyllys accompanies him on this tour. I did not leave the Muskingum until the 24th ult., being detained so long waiting for his and the Pay-master's arrival there. We were four days upon our passage. The distance from thence to this garrison, (which is directly opposite the mouth of Licking river,) is about three hundred miles. Major Doughty is left to command at Fort Harmar.

This will be one of the most solid, substantial wooden fortresses, when finished, of any in the Western Territory. It is built of hewn timber, a perfect square, two stories high, with four block-houses at the angles. I am particularly indebted to Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt, for their indefatigable industry and attention in forwarding the work thus far. The plan is Major Doughty's. On account of its superior excellence, I have thought proper to honor it with the name of *Fort Washington.* The public ought to be benefited by the sale of these buildings whenever we evacuate them, although they will cost them but little.

About forty or fifty Kentucky boats have begun, and will complete it. Limestone is the grand mart of Kentucky; whenever boats arrive there they are scarcely of any value to the owners; they are frequently set adrift in order to make room for the arrival of others. I have contracted for the above number for the moderate price of from one to two dollars each; thus much for the plank work. All other expenses (wagon hire, nails, and some glass excepted,) are to be charged to the labor of the troops. The lime we have burned ourselves, and the stone is at hand. Be pleased to receive the inclosed plan of the fort. The distance between the Little and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement called Columbia; here (seven miles distant from Columbia), there is another named Losanteville, but lately changed to Cincinnati, and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami City, at the north bend of the Ohio river. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people.

It is very probable that the Creek nation, under Mr. M'Gillivray, may be troublesome on the frontiers of Georgia, &c., during the ensuing summer,

and especially as you inform me that the commissioners who were appointed to hold a treaty with them, returned from the Omee river unsuccessful.

I observe that the Governor of the Western Territory is empowered by the President of the United States, in case the hostilities of the Indians should render the measure inevitable, to call on the nearest counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, for militia—not exceeding, in the whole, fifteen hundred—to act in conjunction with the federal troops, in such operations, offensive and defensive, as the said Governor and the commanding officer of the troops, conjointly, shall judge necessary for the public service, and protection of the inhabitants and posts. You may rest assured, sir, that in all these cases, the most perfect harmony will ever subsist between the Governor and myself.

By this time it is presumed Congress is convened, and that instead of a temporary, a permanent establishment of the troops will be made.

Lieutenant Armstrong, I see, has been writing to the War Office about brevet rank. He is a valuable officer, but instead of troubling you upon the occasion, it is my opinion he should have represented his grievances, if any there were, unto his commanding officer.

By the latest advices from Major Hamtramck he writes me that he had manœuvred in such a manner as to divide the Weea Indians, and that eighty of their warriors had come into Post Vincennes, and put themselves under the protection of the United States. This may be considered as a very favorable circumstance, provided these yellow gentry adhere to their allegiance.

The difficulty of forwarding my dispatches from this post to the War Office, is great. Up the river, from here to Fort Pitt, is about five hundren miles; it is too fatiguing to be monthly sending a boat against the stream for the purpose, unless an extraordinary occasion should require it. I am therefore making arrangements to send my letters to Danville, in Kentucky, from thence to be forwarded through the wilderness and deposited in the post-office at Richmond, which I believe to be the most expeditious conveyance.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major-General KNOX, Secretary at War, New York.

Same to Ensign Jeffers.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, February 1, 1790.

SIR—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters

dated the 5th October, the 6th November, the 1st December and 2d January last, with the several inclosures. You will continue to send me regular monthly returns, dated on the first day of each month, of your command; also, of military and quarter-master stores, inspection returns, and quantity of provisions on hand, so that I may know the exact state of your garrison. I have been informed that the men, before Captain H. was ordered from Fort Franklin, were almost continually employed on fatigue, and principally for his own private emolument. That they were more of farmers than soldiers, was very evident upon their arrival at Fort Harmar—they were chiefly naked. Such conduct is a disgrace to the regiment, and any officer acting in like manner in future, shall be called to a severe account for it. I do not believe you will countenance such matters; I mention it to let you know that such unmilitary proceedings will always meet with my greatest displeasure. The plan of the fort which you have forwarded to me, I suppose to be a true representation of it as it now stands. In case of danger, you have not men sufficient to defend it. The block-house should be your principal defense. You will do well, therefore, to contract the works as much as possible.

I would have you, by all means, to cultivate a good understanding with the Cornplanter, in order to counteract the designs of Brant and his adherents. I believe him to be a friend of the United States. Give my compliments to him, and tell him I am very glad to hear that he is well, and to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship.

I would have you to use every means in your power to conciliate the minds of the Indians in your quarter, and to impress them with the majesty of the United States, and their sincere and friendly disposition toward them; at the same time, you must use the utmost precaution to avoid surprise. The savages may make the greatest professions of friendship, and be deceitful at last; therefore, never be off your guard with them.

If you should hear anything further of the intelligence given you by Half-Town, the Seneca chief, who informed you that there was great talk of the Mohawks going to war against the Muskingum people the ensuing spring, you will instantly give me information of it.

I cannot conclude this letter without repeating to you, and strongly enjoining upon you, the strict observance of economy to be used in all your departments, and the utmost vigilance and discipline to be exercised with your command.

I am, sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Ensign JOHN JEFFERS, commanding officer at Fort Franklin, on French Creek.

Same to Mr. Jonathan Williams.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, February 25, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving a friendly line from you, by Captain Ferguson, and can well remember the gay moments we passed together in France, particularly the civilities received from you at the Palace at St. Germain en Laye, where I dined with you in company with Mr. Barclay and Colonel Franks. Here we are delightfully situated on the most beautiful river in the world, *La Belle Riviere*, opposite the mouth of Licking, in Kentucky. You'll wonder at this, when you call to mind the handsome meanders of the Seine at the foot of your old quarters. Society, unless what the military affords, is entirely out of the question. Buffalo, venison, turkeys, and fish of an enormous size (when the season arrives), we have in the greatest abundance. If ever Miss-*Fortune*, the slippery jade, should direct your course to the westward, it will give me great pleasure to regale you with some of our dainties. You shall have a hearty, soldierly welcome.

Believe me, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Mr. JONATHAN WILLIAMS, Merchant, Philadelphia.
(To the care of Dr. Franklin.)

P. S.—If you see Franks, give my compliments to him, and tell him I received his introductory letter in favor of Mr. Mitchell.

Same to Daniel Clymer.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, March 1, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR—Captain Pratt handed me a few lines from you, dated at Reading. I should be happy to see you here. We can afford you buffalo and venison in abundance.

C——, I find, keeps manœuvring a little after the old manner. Sometime or other he must certainly get his *quietus*. It is surprising to me how he escapes from the numerous *fracases* he is engaged in. I am informed that Shannon at Easton had liked to have gutted him with a knife in a dispute they had together. He is a clever fellow, notwithstanding all his foibles.

We are most beautifully situated where we are at present, on the handsome river Ohio, and directly opposite Licking in Kentucky.

I have heard of no news or disturbance lately from our yellow brethren. From Fort Pitt you can easily glide down the current to see me; it is about five hundred miles. This month I expect we shall have great plenty of fish; such as pike, perch, bass, buffalo, sturgeon and cat; the

latter of an enormous size. What would you think of being regaled with one of one hundred weight? There are some actually caught of that weight.

The bearer, Lieutenant Kingsbury, is an officer of mine, and is intrusted with several private letters of consequence for Philadelphia. He strikes off from Reading to Easton. Will you be pleased to notice him? I shall direct him to leave the letters in your care, which I beg may be safely forwarded by you.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

DANIEL CLYMER, Esq., at Reading, Pennsylvania.

Same to Governor Huntingdon.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, March 2, 1790.

SIR—Lieutenant Pratt handed me a few lines from your Excellency, in which I observe his conduct, whilst employed on the recruiting service in the State of Connecticut, was such as to meet entire approbation. Although I have not the honor of being personally acquainted with your Excellency, I beg leave to address you on the following subject:

It is more than probable that an augmentation of the regular troops will take place (indeed I believe the measure will be found absolutely necessary), in which case suffer me to mention Major Wyllys as a very honest, brave, deserving officer, and in every point of view adequate to the command of a regiment. I am induced to offer his recommendation, not from any solicitation of the major's, but as he is now absent in the Illinois country, and there may be some candidates at home who are upon the courtier establishment, I cannot refrain (from the esteem I have for his character,) expressing my wishes to your Excellency upon this occasion.

The officers at present in service, forming the Connecticut quota, have conducted themselves with military propriety, and greatly to my satisfaction. I should be happy to see them advanced also, when vacancies take place or more troops are raised.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency SAMUEL HUNTINGDON, Esq.,
Governor of the State of Connecticut, at Norwich.

Same to Richard Graham.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, March 6, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving a few lines from you, dated

at Dumfries the 12th last September. I shall be happy to see you at our new quarters. We have no particular news. The savages lately murdered some people at a small station about fourteen miles above Limestone, and will continue their carnages and depredations until government raise a proper force to sweep them off the face of the earth. I have detached Major Wyllys to accompany Governor St. Clair, who has set out for the Illinois country, there to regulate civil affairs.

Mrs. Harmar joins in respectful compliments to you.

Believe me, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Mr. RICHARD GRAHAM, Merchant, Dumfries.

P. S.—Will you be pleased to present my regards to General Gates? I hope he enjoys his health.

Same to John Cleves Symmes.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, March 7, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I shall want about an acre of land, or perhaps a little more, near the garrison, on the east side of it, for the purpose of making a garden. I suppose, by applying to Mr. Ludlow, he will be able to stake off three or four lots accordingly. I wish you to give him the necessary directions.

I designed to have dispatched Lieutenant Kingsbury for the eastward long before this time, but have been prevented for want of a boat, by which delay I find it will be impracticable to procure the certificates in time for the two sections of land intended to be purchased from you, in what is called the College Township. As it is out of my power to comply with your last proposals relative to furnishing the certificates, I am nevertheless willing to agree with your first proposals, which were to pay you 2 \ 6 specie per acre for the said two sections. The money shall be ready for you whenever you please to call for it, as also for the lots for the garden. An allowance for advancing the ready money ought, in my opinion, to be made. I shall expect your answer on the return of Mr. Ludlow.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable JOHN CLEVES SYMMES, Esq.,
one of the Judges of the Western Territory, at North Bend.

Same to General Knox.

FORT WASHINGTON, March 24, 1790.

SIR—I had the honor to address you last on the 20th ultimo, a duplicate whereof is now inclosed.

The Indians still continue to murder and plunder the inhabitants; especially the boats going up and down the Ohio river. About the middle of this month they broke up Kenton's station, a small settlement fifteen miles above Limestone, killing and capturing the whole of the people, supposed to be ten or twelve in number. Buckner Thruston, Esq., has just arrived here, who informs me of a capital stroke of plunder which they made from the boats, one of which he was on board, a small distance above the Scioto river. This gentleman is a member of the Virginia Legislature, and has given me the inclosed written report of the attack, by which you will please to observe that the property captured by the savages was estimated at £4,000. He supposes them to have been Shawanees. No calculation will answer but raising a sufficient force to effectually chastise the whole of those nations who are known to be hostile.

Ensign Francis Luse has given me his resignation, and I now inclose his commission, which I hope you will be pleased to accept. I have allowed him to be run upon the rolls until the first of May next, as he is considerably embarrassed in his circumstances. Permit me to recommend cadet John Morgan to fill the vacancy, unless there is a probability of promotion for him in the corps of artillery, in which case, and not otherwise, I would beg leave particularly to recommend Mr. David Britt to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Luse, or the first vacancy which may happen in future. Mr. Britt was a former partner of Messrs. Turnbull, Marmie & Co.; has served as a cadet for some time in the different grades, from a private sentinel to a non-commissioned officer. He has also been of great service to me in many other instances, and is, in my opinion, deservedly entitled to preferment.

I have received no intelligence, as yet, of Major Doughty, but have detached Lieutenant Armstrong to undertake the business recommended in your secret letters. No written orders have been given him upon that subject. Be pleased to receive the inclosed monthly returns of the regiment, dated the 1st February and the 1st of March.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to William Govett.

FORT WASHINGTON, April 4, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I have altered my mind respecting purchasing the certificates to pay Judge Symmes for land. You will therefore pay no attention to that matter, as I have declared off the intended purchase.

I am hourly expecting the arrival of Lieutenant Denny, by whom I shall hope to hear from you.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Captain Ziegler.

FORT WASHINGTON, April 5, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I have received your several letters of the 18th February, and the 6th, 24th, 26th and 27th ult.

You did right in sending two men with the contractor's boat, as the Indians begin already to be very troublesome on the river near the Scioto.

The clothing, sheet iron, cartridges and flints all arrived safe. The remainder of the clothing I shall be expecting when Lieutenant Denny arrives.

Mrs. Harmar joins me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Ziegler and Mrs. Heart. Give my compliments to all our New England acquaintances. I wish their settlement may prosper. We have a delightful situation here, and an excellent garrison; no danger, as there is with you, of an inundation.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain DAVID ZIEGLER, commanding officer at Fort Harmar.

Same to Doctor Wistar.

FORT WASHINGTON, April 5, 1790.

DEAR SIR—It is a long time ago since I received your very agreeable letter, acknowledging the receipt of the bones by Captain Armstrong; you will please to receive by this conveyance a few more. We are at present stationed opposite the mouth of the Licking river, not above twenty miles, by land, from the Big Bone Lick creek. I intend shortly to let Dr. Allison, the surgeon of the regiment, proceed to that place and stay there for about a week. Upon his return I am in hopes to be able to send you a proper collection of the bones, and worthy of your acceptance, as the Doctor is curious in those matters.

The savages begin already to be very troublesome with the boats descending the Ohio river; nothing will cure them but an effectual chastisement. I beg you to accept my thanks for your obliging letter and shall be happy in hearing from you frequently.

I am, dear sir, with very great esteem, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Wm. Govett.

FORT WASHINGTON, June 8, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter by Lieutenant Denny, dated the 23d January, inclosing your account current.

Mr. Leiper's Encyclopedia would not have answered us. I want the most elegant edition that can be procured. The thermometer will do.

The ground rent on Market street lot must be settled with the University on the best terms you can. I have already written to Colonel Craig concerning my small plantation; consult with him upon the occasion.

I observe the rent for the Market street house is too much in arrears. It is very likely the old lady will shortly be able to pay it; therefore it is not my wish to distress her.

As to selling the Germantown ground rent and purchasing the ground rent on Market street lot, I leave it entirely to your own judgment, how to act for me in this respect.

The Indians have been, and still are troublesome. I am in full hopes that the new government will give me the materials to work with, and the next year be prepared for a general war with them.

Mrs. Harmar writes to Mrs. Govett by this conveyance.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Same to Joseph Howell, Jr.

FORT WASHINGTON, June 9, 1790.

DEAR SIR—I wrote to you on the 28th January last, and inclosed it in my letter to the War Office. I am surprised it has not been received. I now have to acknowledge your several letters of the 2d, 17th and 31st January, and the 28th March, and am extremely obliged to you for your care and attention in forwarding me the newspapers. They all came safe and regularly to hand.

Captain Beatty is just now on the wing for Muskingum, and from thence to the falls of Beaver and Venango, making a final settlement as he goes along, up to the first of the present year.

I have written to General Knox, why I thought it most advisable for him to draw the third instalment, and be done with the business before he leaves the country. He will be with you early in September. Lieutenant Ernest is his successor. There has been a Major J—— here, for the avowed design of speculating upon the necessities of the soldiers and some others, but I have prevented them. It is, in my opinion, a most dishonorable traffic; by God, my hands are clear of it, and if I find that any officer is concerned in it, he shall be called to a strict and severe account

for such unmilitary proceedings. The Indians are exceedingly troublesome. I know of nothing that will cure the disorder, but government raising an army to effectually chastise them—all treaties are in vain.

Mrs. Harmar and my little flock are well. She desires to be affectionately remembered to you. Do not forget writing to me; it will afford me great happiness to hear constantly from you.

Believe me, yours truly,

JOS. HARMAR.

JOSEPH HOWELL, Jr., Esq., Pay-master General, at New York.

Same to Lieutenant Matthew Ernest.

HEAD-QUARTERS, Fort Washington, June 9, 1790.

DEAR SIR — My last letter was dated the 5th of February, and forwarded by Lieutenant Kingsbury, which I observe you have received; I now have to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters, dated the 22d and 26th of February, the 20th and 25th of March, and the 13th of May, with the different dispatches. The deeds, patents, &c., belonging to me, I left with you by Mr. Denny, I wish you to take particular care of and keep them safe. You may inform Ephraim Douglas, Esq., that I have long since returned all the drafts to council, amongst which was one for one hundred dollars drawn upon him, consequently that business is at an end. I have no objections to your having lent the arms to Messrs. Wilkins and Blaine, provided they are returned in good order. Mr. Parker delivered to me the six old muskets which you lent him. The chief part of the cartridge paper has arrived at head-quarters, the remainder was left at Fort Harmar.

All the officers at this post (agreeably to the list inclosed) are unanimous in their votes for you as Pay-master, and I take it for granted that there will not be above three or four votes for Lieutenant Frothingham. You are therefore to consider yourself as the new Pay-master to the regiment, and as soon as possible you are to repair to New York, and there to use all your address to prevent old times taking place; I mean so much arrearages being due to the corps. Captain Beatty draws all his instalments as he goes on, and settles with the troops up to the first of the present year. It will therefore be your duty to look out sharp for the pay, &c., due from the 1st of January, 1790. As I said before, you must use all your address; indeed, all the graces of Lord Chesterfield will be necessary upon this occasion.[1]

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[1] Ernest was one of the most polished and gentlemanly persons in the army.

I cannot conclude my letter without assuring you that I am very well pleased with your attention and accuracy in forwarding my several dispatches. For the news I refer you to Captain Beatty.

I am, sir, with very great esteem, your most humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Lieutenant MATTHEW ERNEST, commanding officer at Fort Pitt.

P. S.—Tell the contractors that we have not had an ounce of meat for some time, and that the flour and whiskey are just out.

List of Officers at Fort Washington, June 9th, 1790.

1. General Harmar,
2. Captain Ferguson,
3. Captain Strong,
4. Captain M'Curdy,
5. Captain Beatty,
6. Lieutenant Armstrong,
7. Lieutenant Kerney,
8. Lieutenant Forde,
9. Lieutenant Pratt,
10. Lieutenant Denny,
11. Ensign Sedam,
12. Ensign Hartshorn,
13. Ensign Thompson,
14. Doctor Allison.

Same to same.

FORT WASHINGTON, August 13, 1790.

DEAR SIR—My last letter to you was dated on the 9th June, and forwarded by Captain Beatty; since which I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th and 27th June, with the different dispatches, letters, &c., which, together with my private stores, all arrived safe, and in good order. In my letter by Beatty, you will observe that the officers at this post gave an unanimous vote for you as the new Pay-master of the regiment; in consequence of which I ordered you to proceed for New York, to use all your address to receive and bring on our pay, subsistence, &c., from the first of the present year; but since writing that letter, the late Act of Congress for regulating the military establishment, has come forward, which totally changes the face of affairs, and renders those orders of no effect. You are therefore not to go to New York. It is more than probable that you will be elected Pay-master to the battalion of artillery, in which case Major Doughty will give you the necessary orders.

Lieutenant Denny left with you sundry deeds, patents, &c., &c., of lands belonging to me in Westmoreland county. I gave Major Huffnagle a power of attorney to transact that business for me; it is revoked, but it has not yet been returned. Let me beg you either to undertake this

business yourself, or if it is inconvenient, be pleased to inform me of some gentleman in Pittsburgh or its vicinity, who is willing to receive a power of attorney for this purpose, and will pay proper attention to my interest. I have thought of young Mr. Woods, but know not whether he would be inclined to undertake it. The lands are certainly valuable.

The old public stores have not yet arrived at head-quarters from Fort Pitt.

As for news, all hopes of peace with the savages in this quarter and on the Wabash, are at an end. We are preparing to carry on an expedition against them this fall, in conjunction with the Kentucky militia.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

P. S.—I am much obliged to you for forwarding the bones to Doctor Wistar.

Same to Rufus Putnam.

FORT WASHINGTON, September 2, 1790.

SIR—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 22d June last, wherein you are pleased to make me an offer, and my friends also, to become adventurers in as many shares as we may choose, in company with you, in the Scioto speculation. I am much obliged to you for the offer, but matters are so circumstanced with me at present that I must decline accepting it. You may be assured, sir, that I shall afford the European emigrants every assistance and protection in my power, consistent with my duty, and agreeably to the orders I may receive upon that head.

Be pleased to make my most respectful compliments to all my friends at Marietta, and believe me to be, with much esteem,

Sir, your very, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable RUFUS PUTNAM, at Marietta.

Same to Major Hamtramck.

FORT WASHINGTON, September 3, 1790.

DEAR SIR—The information you gave me, that a plan was certainly on foot to assemble a number of nations at the Miami village (as soon as the corn will be ripe), in order to pay me a visit, I am obliged to you for; perhaps we may be beforehand with them. If you should be so fortunate as to make a successful stroke, either at the Ouiatanon, Vermilion or

L'Anguille, circumstances may render it necessary that you should instantly return to the post instead of remaining in the country, which I shall leave to your own judgment; but at all events, endeavor to let me hear from you verbally, by a trusty Frenchman or some other person. You acted very right in dismissing those scoundrels, the Pottawattamies and Weeas, who came into you with their usual professions of peace, without giving them any goods. I suppose they came for nothing but in expectation of receiving some presents. The substance of Mr. Tardiveau's letter which you inclose me, I observe is a request to you to send him a detachment of troops from Post Vincennes for the security of the Illinois country. This is utterly impracticable at present, and we must have more troops before it can be any way practicable in future. I hope you have perfectly recovered your health. Major Sargent left me yesterday; he writes to you by this conveyance. It will be proper that you take into the field with you, a brass three-pounder, and I place the fullest confidence in your abilities, as what we are going to undertake is a serious affair. I take it for granted that there is not the least relaxation from your former rigid discipline. If any officer should prove refractory, arrest him instantly. You will find that I shall always effectually support you in maintaining the strictest subordination. I am indeed very sorry to hear of the distressing situation you have been in with respect to provisions, but by this time Mr. Elliott will certainly have forwarded a sufficiency; say two months' provisions for five hundred men. I have not yet heard from the Pennsylvania militia, nor received any late accounts from Kentucky; but report says they are determined to turn out spiritedly upon the occasion.

I am, &c., JOS. HARMAR.

Major J. F. HAMTRAMCK, commanding officer at Fort Knox, Post Vincennes.

P. S. — We have heard that you have entered the matrimonial state. Mrs. Harmar and myself wish you every happiness in it. You will please to present our kind compliments to Mrs. Hamtramck, and accept them yourself likewise.

Same to General Mifflin.

FORT WASHINTON, September 4, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL—I did myself the honor to write you a few lines by Lieutenant Kingsbury, since which Lieutenant Denny has handed me your letter of the 23d January. I am much obliged to you for the attention paid in delivering Lieutenant Denny orders for the several sums stated by me to be due to him and other officers for recruiting services for which

they have received payment. The official letter from the Secretary at Council, giving me proper credit for the returned orders on the treasurers of Westmoreland, Fayette and Washington, has been also received, which is very satisfactory, as it settles all public accounts which the State of Pennsylvania had against me. I am preparing for an expedition against the savages, to go forward the first of next month. Our regular force is but small; there is a prospect of being joined by a considerable body of militia, who I hope will stick to the text, and not leave me in the lurch.

Believe me dear General, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, at Philadelphia.

Lieutenant Denny to General Harmar.

PHILADELPHIA, March 9, 1791.

DEAR GENERAL — The great people here have at length determined to carry on another campaign against the savages upon a more extensive plan than the last. In the meantime they have thought it necessary to order a temporary expedition, entirely of militia, for the purpose of amusing the Indians and to prevent them from committing any further depredations on the frontiers. Mr. Brown, of Congress, is furnished with ten thousand dollars for this business. G. K. took up so much time in forming his report for Congress, and both houses debated so long upon it, that I am doubtful whether men can be enlisted for the grand object and marched over the mountains in season; the encouragement will not be sufficient, though six dollars bounty is to be given. I was in hopes that when these military arrangements were all settled, that G. K. would dispatch me for head-quarters, but I am now afraid he means to detain me to recruit. Armstrong has received his instructions and began this day — Beatty and myself are yet waiting in suspense. I wish most sincerely to be with you, for I am perfectly sick of the court and all courtiers.

Captain Beatty writes to you by this conveyance, and incloses the military establishment, by which you will find that Major ——— is appointed Lieut.-Col. commanding of the second regiment. Some reasons which will operate very forcibly upon him, make me think that it is uncertain whether he will accept or not. Some people are troubled with the *cannon fever*, and if I was not much mistaken, he was very subject to it—a feather bed would be a fitter place than the field. The Governor being appointed to command the army this summer, I hope you will be reconciled. I am very confident that no other man would be submitted to; but the long friendship which has subsisted between you both, and his commission ex-

piring at the end of the campaign, as I am informed it does, will make it more easy. Believe me, he has been a sound friend when you greatly stood in need of one, and

I am, dear General, your obedient

E. DENNY.

Brigadier-General HARMAR,
Head-Quarters, Ohio river.

Same to same.

PITTSBURGH, June 1, 1792.

DEAR SIR—We have alarms here hourly. The savages begin to show themselves. The settlements north of the old Pennsylvania road are all abandoned and the people fled across the Monongahela. Myers' and M'-Nair's, and along there, are frontiers. Several circumstances seem to combine to frighten the people here and cause them to dread a stroke. They have a Frenchman confined in jail, suspected for being a spy; indeed he has acknowledged that he was sent to gain information of the strength of the town, and had his orders from Colonel Butler, of Niagara. He has also confessed that two men of this place were concerned with him, one of them a *confidential character* in public service, the other is Tom Girty. You may have seen by the papers, that Jeffers had a kind of independent command of friendly Indians and rifle men. We heard yesterday from Venango that several of these friendly Indians had in a formal manner delivered up to Captain Cass, the commandant there, their rifles, and had declared that they intended joining against us. This circumstance is not very favorable. You will suppose that I have very early hark'd in with the people, but it was always my opinion that fifty bold fellows might set the town on fire and retire without any loss, and I am very certain it could now be done with ease. As to the soldiers here, though there are fifty, I would not give them their half gill a day for all their services, unless it is that perhaps the appearance of them may deter the enemy from making an attempt; for should an attack be made, the utmost they could do would be to defend the stockade fort where they are quartered. The militia are really tolerably well employed. A strong guard mounts every evening, from which there are constant patrols all night; besides they are frequently out on scouts for one, two and three days at a stretch. The people wonder the soldiers don't come out. The present protection appears not to be sufficient. The State troops are under no subordination, and it is a question whether they render as much service as they might. Should you

see Governor Mifflin, please to offer my respects. My kind compliments to Mrs. Harmar, and believe me,

Yours, &c.,

E. DENNY.

General HARMAR, Philadelphia.

General Harmar to Peter Audrain.

PHILADELPHIA, July 12, 1792.

DEAR SIR — I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22d ultimo, per post. The gentleman whom General Gibson informed you that he dined in company with at my house, was Monsieur Peyroux, the commandant at St. Genevieve. He does not leave this city for sometime; but when he does, it will afford me peculiar happiness to be in any way instrumental in serving you; your name shall therefore be mentioned to him, and I will give him an introductory letter to you before he sets out for Pittsburgh.

I shall remember you to the French Ambassador when I see him. Be pleased to present my best respects to all our good friends in Pittsburgh, and believe me to be, with great esteem,

Yours, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Mr. PETER AUDRAIN, Merchant, Pittsburgh.

Same to Ebenezer Denny.

PHILADELPHIA, September 6, 1792.

DEAR SIR — Your two letters of the 1st June and the 30th July, have been duly received, by which I am happy to learn your success in trade. The loss of Hardin and Trueman I sincerely regret, particularly the former. Murdering of flags does not seem to indicate a speedy peace with the savages. I have conversed with Major Asheton relative to the settlement at Presqu' Isle, but we are not yet sufficiently informed on that subject. I am rather inclined to think that I shall not become an adventurer in it.

I shall not forget to remember you to Governor Mifflin, and hope something may turn up to your advantage through his means. You wish to know the price of stocks. They tell me six per cents bring 22f. cash. Mrs. H. sends her compliments to you. Our friend Ernest will deliver you this letter; and believe me to be,

Your friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Mr. EBENEZER DENNY, Pittsburgh.

E. Denny to General Harmar.

PITTSBURGH, January 5, 1793.

DEAR SIR — I have just time to write a few lines by a very particular and one of my most intimate friends at this place, John Woods, Esq. Any civilities which may be shown him will lay me under new obligations. He has a short letter from me to Governor Mifflin on the subject of militia appointments.' I hope that you will be the adjutant-general. Respects to Mrs. Harmar, and believe me, dear sir,

Your faithful,

E. DENNY.

General Harmar to E. Denny.

PHILADELPHIA, February 8, 1793.

DEAR SIR—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the one dated the 22d December last, the other on the 5th ultimo. I am very sorry for the loss of Stephen,[1] as by all accounts he was a faithful, honest lad. As for the Population Society, and the Presqu' Isle plan, I have no great opinion of it, and therefore choose to decline it altogether. You may depend upon it, what influence I have with the Governor shall be exerted to serve you upon the militia establishment. Mrs. Harmar sends you her respectful compliments.

I am, dear sir, with very great esteem and regard,

Your affectionate friend,

JOS. HARMAR.

E. Denny to General Harmar.

PITTSBURGH, February 22, 1793.

DEAR SIR — I feel myself much obliged by your flattering assurances. The militia establishment—I hope it may please you and be the cause of a visit to this country; it will add to your health and enable you to attend personally to your private concerns. My affectionate respects to Mrs. Harmar, and believe me to be, dear sir,

With the highest esteem and regard, &c.,

E. DENNY.

General HARMAR, Philadelphia.

General Harmar to Governor Howell.

PHILADELPHIA, August 20, 1793.

DEAR SIR—With great pleasure I received your friendly letter of the

[1] Major Denny's servant during his Indian campaigns.

9th instant. To hear from an old soldier, for whom I have a particular regard, was highly gratifying to me. I live in a small house in Eighth street; when you arrive in this city, I shall do myself the honor to wait upon you and give you soldierly fare. Sorry I am indeed, that it is out of my power at present to accept of your polite invitation to visit you at Trenton — being so much busied with the militia business prevents it. You are desirous of having one thousand copies of the Baron Steuben's Manœuvres, printed on good paper, with well executed plates, procured at a reasonable rate, to be bound with your militia law. I have made the necessary inquiry, and inclose you the proposals of Mr. Cist, a printer here, which, if they meet with your approbation, shall be cheerfully attended to on my part. The edition has had the sanction of the War Office, consequently must suppose it to be *correct.* You will be pleased to receive the inclosed militia law of this State — the plates have been struck, but are not annexed to the instructions; perhaps you would wish to go to no more expense than they have done, if so, let me know.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, with every sentiment of friendship and regard,

Yours, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

His Excellency RICHARD HOWELL, Esq.,
Governor of the State of New Jersey.

Same to Ebenezer Denny.

PHILADELPHIA, November 23, 1793.

DEAR SIR — It was not until the 20th instant that I had the pleasure of receiving your two letters of the 13th September and 11th October last. That the treaty did not succeed, does not at all surprise me; I never was of the opinion that it would. If General Wayne should be unsuccessful with his army (which I sincerely hope may not be the case), the frontier settlements on the Ohio must be left in a wretched exposed situation. The consequence would be dreadful indeed. It is to be lamented that government has not long since established a post at Presqu' Isle, as it is most undoubtedly a very eligible position to prevent an intercourse between the Six Nations and the western Indians, and at the same time secure their trade and friendship, and encourage settlements upon the lands of the State on Lake Erie. I have conversed with the Governor, and showed him your letters upon this subject, but his reply was, that to establish a post there is an object that should come under the notice of

the general government; therefore, my friend, your expectations of a command there are fruitless, which I am sorry for.

The direful contagion which has been so long prevalent in this city, has now entirely ceased. You may venture to come down with perfect safety. It is supposed that from the 1st August to the 10th November, about five thousand persons have died, but certainly not altogether with this malignant disorder. If Colonel Neville should resign his brigade-inspectorship, it is probable you may fill that office; but *kissing goes by favor*. I can promise nothing, only that, by the Lord, you shall have my interest for it. Mrs. Harmar joins me in congratulating you on your matrimonial connexion, and believe me to be, dear sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your friend, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

Governor Mifflin to Captain E. Denny.

PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1794.

SIR—Inclosed you will receive a copy of an Act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act for more effectually securing the trade, peace and safety of the port of Philadelphia, and defending the western frontiers of the Commonwealth;" a commission by which you are appointed captain of the Allegheny company; a sketch of the appointments and arrangements of all the companies directed to be raised, and a copy of an act, entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle." You will be pleased, sir, to take all lawful measures, under the instructions of the brigade-inspector of the county, and with the aid of the officers of your company, for engaging, during the term, and for the pay prescribed by the act for the defense of our frontiers, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and fifer, or two buglers, and sixty-five rank and file, or privates. In making your enlistments, you will stipulate with the men, that, if the state of the war on the frontiers shall, in my judgment, require their continuance in the service of the Commonwealth, after the expiration of the term of eight months mentioned in the law, they shall continue accordingly until the meeting of the Legislature next ensuing the expiration of the last term, for any shorter period that I may direct. From the sketch of the appointments and arrangements of the several companies, you will perceive that you are called on to command the detachment which is made, in order to carry into effect the act entitled "An act for laying out the town of Presqu' Isle;" and the importance of the object, as well as the difficulties that may attend its accomplishment, will evince the confidence

that is reposed in your zeal, spirit and prudence. In the discharge of your trust, I am persuaded you will pay a due respect to the design and spirit of the laws I have communicated to you; and therefore, I shall content myself with suggesting the following general regulations:

1st. Messrs. Irvine, Ellicott and Gallatin, the commissioners who are employed to lay out the town at Presqu' Isle, will probably be engaged in that duty early in the month of May next. It will be necessary, therefore, that before that time arrangements should be made for establishing some post for protection and defense in the neighborhood of Presqu' Isle; and the commissioners have thought that a spot at Le Bœuf will be the most eligible and convenient for their undertaking. The lieutenant who is detached from the artillery company, will transport thither, under the convoy of his detachment, a competent supply of provisions, cannon, arms, ammunition and camp equipage. Of these articles, an officer in the nature of quarter-master will have the immediate custody; but they are, nevertheless, to be considered as being under your superintending care and disposition, to be preserved with the greatest caution; not to be used but in cases of necessity, and to be accounted for by you, to any person who may be appointed to succeed you in command, or who may be authorized to receive the same when the purposes of the post shall be attained. You will be pleased to strengthen the detachment of artillery by a party of infantry under your command, whenever they advance from Pittsburgh; and this party should consist, I think, of not less than a sergeant and fifteen men, or if circumstances will admit, of an officer and twenty men.

2d. As the object of the detachment under your command is to carry the act for establishing a town at Presqu' Isle into effect, you shall deem it your duty to comply with every lawful request of the commissioners; in stationing the men in such numbers and at such places, as they shall from time to time think requisite to insure their safety and defense, and generally in aiding and facilitating their measures by all means in your power.

3d. The Legislature having made provision for surveying and opening the roads, one from Reading and the other from French creek to Presqu' Isle, it is obvious that the establishment of the town is intimately connected with those objects; and therefore you should deem it your duty to grant all the aid and protection to the respective commissioners and contractors employed in surveying and opening these roads, that is compatible with a due attention to the particular charge which is confided to you.

4th. In the present state of our northern frontier, you will deem it a duty peculiarly incumbent upon you, to avoid giving any occasion of offense to the peaceable Indians or to the British garrisons which are in that

quarter. You will endeavor, in case any intercourse should necessarily or accidentally take place with them, to conciliate and cultivate a good and friendly understanding; and you are, above all things, to remember that the objects of your appointment are strictly those of protection and defense, and that any act of aggression or hostility committed against any person or persons in amity with the United States, or committed against any person or persons whomsoever, out of the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, will be unauthorized and punished according to law.

5th. For the purposes of information, you will keep a journal of your proceedings, and maintain a regular correspondence as well with the commissioners appointed to lay out the town of Presqu' Isle as with the brigade-inspector of Allegheny county; and when any matter of public importance shall occur, you will, with all possible dispatch, communicate the same to me.

To these regulations it is perhaps unnecessary to add that it is expected that you will give the strictest attention to the health, order and discipline of the detachment under your command; and in all things so act as to justify the confidence which your country has reposed in you.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To EBENEZER DENNY, Esq.,
Captain of the Allegheny company, &c.

Captain Denny to Governor Mifflin.

PITTSBURGH, April 25, 1794.

SIR — I had the honor of writing to you by the last post, mentioning the necessity we were under of calling out a few militia in order to take advantage of the rivers while up. I then could not calculate with any certainty what time the detachments from other counties would arrive; however, the greatest part of them came in time to join the volunteers. They marched on Monday last and encamped the first night twenty-one miles from here, on the route to Fort Franklin, and in all probability would reach that place yesterday. Ensign Mehaffy, from Westmoreland, had the direction of the State troops, two sergeants, two corporals and forty-three privates; the volunteers consisted of a captain, lieutenant, thirty men; total, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign and seventy-seven men. They will go no farther than Le Bœuf.

I have not such confidence in the Six Nations as to think they will favor the establishment; and a small party subject to the power of a few ill-disposed Indians, would be more liable to be stopped by them; not that I think they will offer any violence immediately, but I think they will throw

some objections in the way; perhaps desire the business postponed for a while. We have certain information that the chiefs were lately assembled in council at the mouth of Buffalo. Their meetings there have always been influenced by British agents, and I should not be surprised to find them return with a wish to prevent the settlement at Presqu' Isle. I have received letters from the inspectors of Washington and Westmoreland counties, informing me of the orders they had from you, telling me that whatever reinforcements we required might be depended on. Doctor Wilkins is gone in company with the party to Le Bœuf. I have requested him, and directed Mehaffy, to write to me by every opportunity; and should anything material be discovered, to send off an express.

I am, with respect, &c.,

EBENEZER DENNY, *Captain.*

Same to same.

PITTSBURGH, May 2, 1794.

SIR — I had the honor to address you on the 25th ultimo, since which nothing material has happened. The party sent forward to establish a post of protection and defense at Le Bœuf, consisted of a captain, lieutenant and thirty volunteers, and an ensign and forty-seven of the State troops; they were at Fort Franklin on the 24th, as expected. A very seasonable rain, which fell while they were on the march to this post, will (provided the way is open) enable the contractor to push all the provisions and stores up the creek without loss of time. We are not without apprehensions that this council-holding between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the British, at the mouth of Buffalo creek, may terminate unfavorably to our establishment. The Cornplanter is not with them; but I am told that he has ordered away the traders who had stores in his town. Before our detachment proceeds farther than Mead's settlement, the disposition of the Indians will be known; and in case any opposition is offered, the party will halt and secure themselves and the stores until a sufficient reinforcement joins them. I depend upon Doctor Wilkins' and Ensign Mehaffy's earliest notice. Lieutenant Murphy and Ensign Patterson have been about three weeks away endeavoring to find men for the Allegheny company. Patterson has been tolerably successful; Murphy I have not heard from; he is in Fayette county. They must both be here in a few days now. No doubt but you have been informed of the death of Lieutenant Hazlewood; his men will reach this perhaps in six days.

I acknowledge the honor of your letter of the 25th April. The delays which took place in sending on the men from the other counties, the in-

spector took pains to account for, and I am in hopes there will be no ill consequences. The inspectors are all desirous to promote the establishment of Presqu' Isle, and have informed me of their orders from the Governor.

E. Denny.

Same to same.

Fort Franklin, June 14, 1794.

Sir — I have the honor of acknowledging your two letters, dated the 9th and 11th instant; after receiving the first, we concluded it would be best to proceed on our march. We arrived here the day before yesterday; all well. The account of Ransom's people being killed was too true, but by what nation of Indians is yet doubtful. Mr. Ellicott and Mr. Wilkins have written and sent two runners for the Cornplanter, and they have requested me to wait the return of the express; when they arrive you will be informed of the success of the message. I am suspicious the old fellow will not show himself. The fact is, that the Indians about here, from twenty downward, for some time past have been exceedingly insolent, treating the officers, the fort and every person about it, with the utmost contempt; but since our arrival they have altered their tune, so say Lieutenant Polhemus and Doctor M'Cray. We have written to Le Bœuf and gave the officer there a caution. The day after to-morrow the runner is to be back. Van Horn and Bales, the two men who brought your last letter, saw one Indian at the plain, about twenty miles this side of Pittsburgh, and the trace of six or seven.

June 16th. — Yours inclosing a copy of Polhemus' came yesterday. The Cornplanter's nephew arrived from the towns about the same time. He delivered a long speech from his uncle to Lieutenant Polhemus. Upon summing up the whole, we have not a shadow of doubt but that a plan was formed to destroy all the posts and settlements in this quarter. It was all done upon the strength or prospect of a war between the British and ———; *that* subsiding, the other, I am in hopes, has also. There is no doubt but the English will urge them to join the western Indians, and have done every thing possible, and perhaps a few may; but I rather think that unless we have a war with them, we'll have none with the Six Nations generally.

The Cornplanter has gone to another council at Buffalo; he set out the same time the nephew started for this place, and will return in about ten days. He says he is very sorry for the mischief done lately, and is extremely concerned at the account given of their going to take up the

hatchet; says they are bad men who reported it; that it's a lie, and insists upon knowing whom the information came from. It is evident that a stroke was meditated, but now perhaps dropped. Every apology which he can possibly make won't be sufficient to clear him of the imputation of a traitor. Some of the nation say that the English have bought O'-Beal. We shall spend two days to come, in helping Mr. Polhemus to put his garrison in some state of defense; for should anything happen it, we should fare the worse above.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. DENNY.

Same to Major-General Gibson.

FORT LE BŒUF, June 27, 1794.

DEAR SIR—Inclosed you will receive a copy of a message brought me by a deputation of chiefs and warriors sent for that purpose, from the Six Nations, and also our reply. You will perceive by the message that the Indians are disposed to have us pushed back; and if we don't leave the country they are to consider us as no friends. I don't apprehend much danger here as long as we can keep our men together; but at present, a number of the people who were on before me are ill with the flux; and the working parties which we are necessarily obliged to have at some distance, together with two escorts, one sent to Franklin with pack horses, the other somewhere between here and Cussewago, with boats, reduces our force considerably. Doctor Wilkins[1] has made a requisition for ten or twelve men to be sent to Pitt, to guard a drove of cattle on to this place. From the present appearances it would be very improper to detach so many men from my command; I am, therefore, here under the necessity of begging a few militia for that purpose; they will be wanted about the first week in the next month. Indeed, at this particular juncture, I don't think a company would be too many to assist us in having the supplies brought forward. The people of Cussewago wished for a guard of my men; I could not spare them yet; the consequences, I am afraid, will be a total evacuation of that settlement. If you should think proper to send on a company, a part posted at Mead's will answer a double purpose; there the contractor has a deposit, and it serves our people as an intermediate post between Franklin and this place, which ought to be by all means, supported. You promised you would not neglect us.

E. DENNY.

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1 Since better known as General John Wilkins.

Same to Governor Mifflin.

Fort Le Bœuf, June 29, 1794.

The route from Franklin to Le Bœuf, by way of Cussewago, is not less than sixty miles. The first part may be made good, but the other will be very difficult. A straight road from Franklin to Le Bœuf won't exceed forty-five miles; but it is yet uncertain what kind of road this country will afford.

We would be much better of a surgeon; many of the men who were on here, are lying bad with the flux. However, we are doing every thing possible to get them on foot. Constant salt provisions, and not the least attention paid to cleanliness, has caused it to spread. Our fresh meat, with the little knowledge we have of medicine, has already had a good effect. The evening of our arrival here I received the inclosed letter from Israel Chapin, superintendent for the Six Nations. The next day, by the time mentioned, he and the Indians arrived. They expected to meet us at Presqu' Isle. They came from the mouth of Buffalo there, in a row boat. Next morning we met and received their message, a copy of which, together with our reply, is also inclosed. William Johnson, who is mentioned in the message, is a British agent; he acted slily as prompter to the chiefs. They denied having sold their country; told us that the paper (deed) which they signed at Fort Harmar, was thought by them *then* to be nothing but a treaty of peace, and that the goods which were delivered them they considered as presents. Money, they say, they received none. The line which they had marked upon their map began at O'Beal's town, and in a direct line crossed French creek just below Mead's, and on the head of Cuyahoga; from thence to the Muskingum, and down the Ohio and to its mouth, and up the Mississippi, leaving a small square for a trading house at the mouths of the rivers, and one where Clarksville now is. The fellows were very inquisitive to know if any surveyors were out, and told us to stop every person going toward the lake. They will expect an answer from our great council.

I would just remark, that in case of a war, it will be very difficult keeping either horses or cattle about the place, and impossible to get any supplies, being so near their towns, unless we have three times the number of men which we now have, and establish several intermediate posts. I have the honor to inclose a return of the troops, and am with perfect respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

E. Denny.

General Harmar to Governor Mifflin.

December 26, 1796.

DEAR GOVERNOR—Be pleased to receive the inclosed letter from Captain Denny. He informs me that there is reason to expect several new counties will be laid off to the westward of Pittsburgh, this winter, in which case he has solicited my influence to interest myself with you in his behalf. The commission of prothonotary, with the recorder's office attached, would answer his wishes. If those new counties should be laid off, I beg leave in a particular manner, to recommend Captain Denny, as a man of honor and probity, and capable of filling such an office. Your Excellency will add to the numerous obligations already conferred upon me, by taking Captain Denny's application under your earliest notice, and securing one of those offices for him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR

Same to Ebenezer Denny.

HARMAR'S RETREAT, December 27, 1796.

DEAR SIR—I have been favored with yours of the 5th instant, wherein I observe it is your wish to be appointed prothonotary and recorder to one of the new counties expected to be laid off this winter, to the west of Pittsburgh. An inflammation on my leg has confined me at home for this sometime past, which has prevented my visiting Philadelphia as usual; but immediately upon the receipt of yours, I wrote a letter to the Governor in your behalf, a copy whereof I now inclose you. In a few days I shall be able to repair to the city, when you may depend upon it, your application shall receive personally all the support in my power to give it, and sincerely hope it may be attended with the desired success. Let me know whether I shall send you a power of attorney to transact the business respecting my lands in Westmoreland. As you are well acquainted with those landed matters, I wish very much that you would undertake it, and pray do not let any of my lands be sold for payment of the taxes. By the next conveyance I shall send you a particular description of all of them. Mrs. Harmar joins me in best respects to Mrs. Denny and yourself, and believe me to be, with true regard,

Your friend and humble servant,

JOS. HARMAR.

Captain Denny to General Harmar.

PITTSBURGH, May 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR—I was happy to hear of your recovery. Our friend Ernest is about to leave us, with his family, for Detroit; we in a particular manner will feel the loss; but it must be so. The difficulty of living at this place on account of the very high price of provisions, will oblige a number to remove. Instance, butter 2/6 current; indifferent beef 9d., and bacon 1/6, and every other article nearly in proportion, and all for cash, and a scarcity of the whole. This extraordinary change can easily be accounted for—but there is no remedy; time will perhaps regulate things, at present there is nothing to be done.

Governor St. Clair has been for some time past at his place not expected to live, but I have heard to-day that he is recovering once more. Mrs. Denny joins me in best respects to Mrs. Harmar and yourself, and believe me to be, with affectionate regard,

Yours, &c.,

E. DENNY.

General HARMAR, near Philadelphia.

Same to same.

PITTSBURGH, December 14, 1797.

DEAR SIR—Several candidates for office in the new counties have started up lately. Robert Galbraith, States Attorney here, and George Thompson, one of our associate judges, are both aiming for what I applied for last winter. John Woods, Senator, has told me that his influence is promised to them—he would serve me, but they must be served first. Esquire Wallace and Captain Herron, our Representatives, are my particular friends—Wallace will interest himself more than the other two. He is equally the friend of Thompson, at least I think he would be glad to serve us both. I should like very well if Thompson could be provided for along with myself. We regard his family, and he stands in as much need as I do.

Yours, &c.,

E. DENNY.

Same to same.

PITTSBURGH, December 20, 1799.

DEAR SIR—I was sorry to hear by Mrs. Harmar's letter of the 8th, that your indisposition rendered you unable to write. I am not certain

if you have any land in this county other than your State donation, and that is not taxable. There are several tracts near a creek called Puckety, which empties into the Allegheny river eighteen miles above this, in Plum township, that has been returned for several years past in your name, but since. I have been commissioner, have entered them in the name of Jenkins' heirs; I think they are a part of Mr. Kenley's division of the estate; but you must know best. I wish you would inform me; at any rate, while I am in office there shall be none sold that you can have any possible claim to. What lies in Westmoreland county, or the Western Territory, is entirely out of our reach.

I did expect to see you this fall, but was obliged to be abroad the months of August and September last, after which found it necessary to be at home. Ernest was in from Detroit in July. Mrs. Denny accompanied him back. They rode to Presqu' Isle, got on board a sloop and had a passage of twenty-seven days — stormy weather in August. They were beat back to Presqu' Isle twice, and and over to the English shore, where they got shelter. I left home a month after they did, was at Presqu' Isle in four days and a half. There was no vessel for Detroit; shipped myself for Fort Erie, got down in a day and a night; engaged a passage to Detroit in a British sloop ready to sail in two days; in the meantime procured a horse, rode eighteen miles down Niagara river to the Falls, where I spent part of one day. Returned back to Fort Erie the evening of the second day; got on board that night, weighed anchor and had a pleasant passage in five days up to Detroit. I intended coming off in the first vessel, but Ernest and Mrs. D. had been there but a few days before me. Colonel Strong commands there. He and the old woman are so fat you would scarcely know either — rolling about in *nothing*. We were treated very politely by the old couple. I was much disappointed in the place. It is filthy beyond measure—calculated to accommodate a few traders. A square of about three hundred by four hundred yards divided by narrow street, one only that a cart can turn about in, and the lots no larger than sufficient for a tolerable house to stand on. One or two houses excepted, they resemble the buildings at Vincennes — pickets round the whole. There is a small regular work back of the town, but it is lost to appearance, and covers only the side next itself. It seems to have been designed for a retreat for the commanding officer. They say there is a covered way to it from what is called the citadel. This last place is nothing more than the barracks and small parade within the town square, separated from the dwellings by pickets. There is a great quantity of goods taken to Detroit yearly, but no trade there — it is made a place of deposit; deputy traders, who go out into the Indian country, are fitted off

from thence. The plan answered the first intention. The traders jammed up together, in order to fence in the whole and keep out drunken Indians The place is crowded at present, and not an inch of ground to extend their buildings. I staid ten days. We got on board a vessel bound to Fort Erie (where the goods are stored that come round the Falls). The captain promised to touch at Presqu' Isle and land us. The first day we dropped down the river and came to anchor at a new town the British are building at its mouth, eighteen miles below Detroit. We had time to go ashore a while. They are making this place very strong; it commands the river. When the wind sprung up we got under way and into the lake with daylight, and next evening before sunset we were ashore at Presqu' Isle—about twenty-four hours pleasant sailing.

It is rare that both shores of Lake Erie can be seen at the same time. Land lies very low, and is not discovered until within four or five leagues. Our shore is high, and the bank for the most part is ninety feet. The land rises gradually for five miles back. The British, in a few years, will have their shore settled from one end to the other. They give the land to people who are sick of a democratic government. A great many Germans have settled there from Pennsylvania. Upper Canada is now very strong. The inhabitants like the government; no taxes but for repairing roads and bridges.

But this "report" is so lengthy, that I think I see you throw it to Charles or Eliza. [Here a piece of the letter is torn off.] I wanted to let Mrs. H. know what sailors, &c., we are.

I must inform you, further, that Colonel Hamtramck has been here since September. You know he married again; his wife is at Fort Wayne. He is about as broad as he is long. Our Colonels, as they were advanced in the army, seemed to have been better furnished; they look like men who have received an additional allowance; they are both much the shape and figure of Pratt. I saw Kingsbury this summer on his way to Connecticut. He was very anxious to see you, but he was afraid to go to Philadelphia. He had been disappointed in a furlough, and thought if he made his appearance he would be ordered off somewhere. He had leave of absence from General Wilkinson, whom he left at Natchez. He looked well—much better than ever he did before. He was one of your officers that I thought could be depended on—never promised more than he intended, and always ready when ordered. I think him an honest fellow.

In all that I have said, I have not made one complaint. I am determined to make the best of what offers—rough or smooth—and say nothing; except mob government, I can't but dislike; I shall always hate disorder. How a man brought up in an army can join in the democratic

hue and cry and be Jacobin, is the most astonishing thing to me in the world; and yet I am told there are many of our old officers such. It is wonderful. I will do my own duty punctually, let me be in what station I may; must take thought how I place myself. I wish it was in my power to see you soon. You have my prayers, and Mrs. Denny joins me in our best and most affectionate respects to Mrs. H. and yourself.

Yours, &c.,

E. DENNY.

General HARMAR, near Philadelphia.

APPENDIX No. II.

VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN USE WITH THE DELAWARE AND SHAWANEE INDIANS.

FORT M'INTOSH, January, 1785.

One. Guttee.
Two. Nechshaa.
Three. Nochhaa.
Four. Nevaa.
Five. Paaleenough
Six. Gutdosh.
Seven. Neshaush.
Eight. Haush.
Nine. Peechkung
Ten. Tellen.

Answer. Nauhcoomel.
Ashes. Tenday poonk
Army. Magy napy nagay.
Away. Magyktallinohway.
Angry. Maanumksee.
After. Ohhtengue.
Abuse. Mamhaylachhky.
Above. Hoqruongg.
Acquaintance. Keneehnateena.
Active. Longseet lenew.
Adopt. Laabhalteen.
Advice. Cataamecoomel.
Afraid. Weeshaso.
Affront. Daaheehook.
All. Weamay.
Alive. Leahelleahy.
Allow. Quanaleinaneenolama.

Alone. Nahopanee.

Bottle. Seekhockhock.
Beggar. Wayheenowayt.
Begone. Allemohakeoky.
Believe. Colamheetole.
Begin. Lapeechoceelahtoa
Behind. Oahtengk.
Bird. Tcholenze.
Bite. Sapalake.
Bitter. Wissacone.
Black. Seakcay.
Bleed. Moocooelhasey.
Blend. Capengoat.
Blood. Mhoak.
Bold. Hchamenseet.
Buck. Paluppy.
Beaver. Thomaagru.
Bear. Mochguee.
Bag. Hempsee notich.
Belt. Calaman beeson.
Big. Hengue.
Blanket. Auchqueon.
Binding. Helaames.
Brother. Neemat.
Bridle. Rechgalundom.
Brotch. Anechkomman.
Bread. Auchbone.

Buffalo. Serelea.
Bed. Ahpeeinah.
Bad. Tacoo-willet, or Metehick.
Brag. Nehnochqehelachemo.
Build. Weekhail.
Bullet. Tackalonne.
By-and-by. Peahho.

Cow. Ockshamways.
Cat. Poosheis.
Coat. Shauchuqueon.
Child. Meemendat.
Corn. Musquem.
Cold weather. Tayheekk.
Cold. Taayh.
Camps. Weekhaten.
Carry. Naoindayt.
Church. Paadamoecaan.
Churl. Ahootong.
Civil. Tahowsing.
Clean. Cahsheehieck.
Comb. Tcheeamookan.
Comrade. Neetes.
Coarse. Cauhjeck.
Cry. Laback.
Cruel. Nemowhahelyhent.

Doe. Nonsheto.
Dog. Myckhanee.
Delaware. Ellenopey.
Don't. Cottchee.

Eyes. Nishking.
Ear. Netaamket.

Fox. Oqwes.
Father. Nouche.
Feet. Zeetla.
Fire. Tenndaa.
Farewell, brother. Congomallneemot tally mesko.
Fatigued. Noeeqehella.

Gorget. Ocanque.
Good. Wellett.
Give me. Meebil.
Grog. Behauseck.
Go with me. Weejaywee.
Good night. Colacquunhomane.
Great deal. Hhealea.
Get well. Theykell.
Great. Ahaylemoosete.
Goose. Cahauck.

Horse. Nahaaniungas.
Hat. Alluquep.
Hunt. Dallie.
Hard. Cheetoneck.
High. Hoqueong.
How many. Cechhanoe.
Hut. Wigwam
Hot sun. Shealonday.
Handkerchief. Acuntpepey.
Hair. Nemeelauch.
Have you tobacco. Cosshatymay.
Have you cellecaneck. Cokellicanchy.
Have you got. Coulhotoonhots.
Hill. Tchewaung.

I don't know. Tackatane.
I can't understand. Tackoopendy.
I am hungry. Gadapewee.
I wan't drink of water. Gadusomembech.
I will. Mouch.
I don't care. Quanacetch.
I want. Gaatatamen.
I love. Doughogay.
I love you. Keyhtaholal.
I'll go with you. Gaughquecheywel.
I'll give you. Peehhocoomelunn.
I must sleep with you. Quebemell.
I'll pay you. Teannhoolan.
I know you. Kanenoale.
I agree with you. Colameellewayen.
I'm glad. Nolelindum.
I'll go. Tallymesko.
Jewsharp. Tatumwaick.

Knife. Sheekcon.
Kettle. Hoose.

Legs. Negataa.
Leggings. Kaakune.
Little. Cochittee.
Lead. Alunze.

Looking glass. Cheechanqwe.

Man. Lennew.
Muskrat. Thomusqwes.
Mink. Venengus.
Moccasin. Chippoucko.
Mouth. Doone.
Meet. Veuse.
Moon. Wessking.
Moon rising. Poocanee keesho.
Me. Nee.
Make. Moneeto.
Maybe. Tompsey.

No. Tackoo.
Nopone. Smoke.
Nose. Negeeon.
Not good. Meat heek.
New. Keyshoo.
Night. Peeiskea.

Otter. Connumoch.
One moon. Coodequishoche.

Powder. Nunguee.
Pretty. Willesso.
Pipe. Hobocan.
Pipe stem. Setaughqwe.
Powder-horn. Shemmoo.

Quill. Mesqwin.

Run. Tchamaheil.
River. Sepoo.
Road. Tomaughcon.
Rain. Sugelane.
Ring. Shapulenguhun
Raccoon. Naahoanum.
Rifle. Tutattabaala.

Sister. Neelum.
Smoke. Nopone.
Salt. Seekki.
Snake. Hauchgaske.
Sleep. Caaweele.
Sun setting. Allmeisseegoan.
Sun rising. Cogeinggwahela.
Sober. Leppoati.
Sit down. Lalamatahpee.
Stool. Lehailamatahpenk.
Snow. Veeney.
Spring. Toopayh.
Stone. Auhsson.

Turkey. Chickaanum.
Tomahawk. Temmeheck.
To-morrow. Alaapi.
To-night. Pecheek.
Thimble. Echawessech.
Thighs. Bome.
Too much. Sawmeihheilto.
Tobacco. Kooshaatie.
Teeth. Nepetauch.
Table. Hindaleepwinke.
Tree. Heetock
Tall tree. Quinoxetheitock.
This is. Uuneind.
Town. Hooteeneyg.
Trap. Ceilaheekan.

Very bad. Machelesso.

Woman. Ochqwe.
Wolf. Tummaa.
Water. Beegh.
What do you want. Keekukatatum.
Wood. Tauchhan.
Warm weather. Neepen.
Will you make. Hleilpeil-moneeto.
Warm. Casheita.
What. Kaycoo.
Will you. Hleilpeil.
Where is your. Tahatchkey.
Where. Taanee.
When. Chingy.
When will you. Chingy hotch.

Yes. Coohan.
You. Keygh.
You are foolish. Cepechhaw.
You and me. Theyhlonee.
You make. Theyh moneeto.
You drink. Meynell.
You not good. Keyhtacoo-willet.
You. Loosse.

I am not angry, you are a good man. Taakoo maanunhsee shekee lenew.
You are no good man, I am angry. Taakoo woolasee lenew maanuncaksee.
Let me brother smoke. Peetat neemot nopone.
Sit down, brother. Lalamatahpee nee mot.
Will you sleep with me. Gaaitatam.
Did you see him. Wenoussee.
Alone by myself. Nahoohaunee.
Have you tobacco. Cosshatymay.
Have you cellicaneck. Cokellicaneckey.
I know you. Kanenoale.
I agree with you. Colameelewayen.
We are free. Canechelapyehara.
Me no angry, you good men. Nee taacoo menunksee keigh willet lenew.

THE foregoing glossary was made by Major Denny at Fort M'Intosh, when the Delawares were there at the treaty. What follows he got subsequently at Fort Finney, mostly from a Shawanee woman called "the Grenadier Squaw."

FORT FINNEY, January, 1786.

One. Necootey.
Two. Neesway.
Three. Nethway.
Four. Neaway.
Five. Nalanway.
Six. Necotwathway.
Seven. Neeswathway.
Eight. Ethwaasicthey
Nine. Chakethway.
Ten. Matathway.
Eleven. Matathway kete-necootey.
Twelve. Matathway kete-neesway.
Twenty. Neiswapataky.

Answer. Keelakayhaachama.
Ashes. Peckway.
Army. Noatshettepey.
Away. Hellechallay.
Angry. Weacoway.
Alone. Nonseeka.
After. Metanakee.
Abuse. Nelskeemaqua.
Above. Spemekay.

Active. Newaytepay.
Adopt. Lapwawa.
Advice. Necokeahkeema.
Afraid. Coopaney.
Affront. Ackquisseka.
All. Chaiokey.
Alive. Lonowaywe.
Allow. Kepahee.
Advance. Netah.
Always. Mosakee.
Among. Keelaway.
Apple. Missimena.
Arm. Whootseweeka.
Ask. Notootawee.
Aunt. Nethequeatha.
Awake. Amomoh.

Bottle. Weesakaqua.
Beggar. Cottooway.
Begone. Aleckhallee.
Believe. Tepahtoawa.
Begin. Sepoonanoo.
Behind. Wetanakee.

Bird. Weeskelotha.
Bite. Nathepoqua.
Bitter. Wethacanwee.
Black. Cuttaywah.
Bleed. Nemscowee.
Blood. Mesque.
Blind. Nallawaskee.
Bold. Wanasketha.
Back. Pauhcomekee.
Bear. Mouhqua.
Beaver. Amahqua.
Before. Nekanee.
Bag. Petauga.
Belt. Metsquathapay.
Big. Mesaway.
Blanket. Acqueway.
Banding. Awekepetsqua.
Brother. Nechenenah.
Bridle. Nethayketonaypetseca.
Brotch. Sockhoway.
Bread. Tackhawn.
Buffalo. Mathuetha.
Bed. Tahnepakee.
Bad. Mattawessah.
Build. Osetolay.
By-and-by. Paluchahee.
Bring, Peatolah.
Bashful. Nettaqueathy.
Beard. Takawa.
Boil. Welaatay.
Bone. Oohcanee.
Bow. Lenahqua.
Boy. Meskeelawethetha.
Buckle. Monethepay.
Button. Thakhoway.
Buck. Sicapee.
Bull. Keecalthey.

Cow. Soseewa.
Cat. Poosetha.
Coat. Neepeetenaco.
Child. Theemahee.
Cold. Wepee.
Camp. Kesepay.
Carry. Nemeloo.
Churl. Esanee.
Civil. Meloonahee.
Clean. Wothepeah.
Comb. Thequa.
Comrade. Neecanah.
Curse. Matseweehewa.
Cry. Maawa.
Cruel. Tepeloo.
Cabin. Sackeweekewa.
Calf. Macooteletha.
Chimney. Tawetay.
Circle. Cayahwecoo
Come. Weheapealo.
Coarse. Kepuckenewee.
Cock. Napayay.
Corn. Tommey.
Cup. Tepheca.
Cross. Ausetethekee.
Canoe. Sokeasea.

Doe. Nosescuttey.
Dog. Wessee.
Delaware. Lenappee
Don't. Tekee.
Dance. Menelaypee.
Danger. Metseka.
Dark. Pepeketsa.
Drunk. Weenetho.
Daughter. Tanaytha.
Dead. Nepowa.
Deaf. Corkeapesea.
Dear. Ketaqueulemela
Dirty. Ceaawe.
Drink. Menello.
Devil. Matchemanetto.
Door. Squatah.
Dream. Tappoem.
Dress. Waawesah.
Drive. Kahkelay.
Deer. Pesicthey.
Day. Kesakee.

Eagle. Wapalaneathy.
Ear. Towacoh.
Eyes. Seekseco.
Enough. Howay.

Fox. Ocutseethy.
Father. Nothaw.
Feet. Othechey.
Fire. Scootay.

Fatigue. Locatothy.
Face. Heesayke.
False. Mattetepoanee.
Fear. Coopanee.
Feast. Sewethenepee.
Feather. Mequanaa.
Fetch. Peatolah.
Fire. Scootah.
Fish. Noameatha.
Fat. Pemee.
Flying. Onethay.
Forgive. Tekekeecomecawaylatah.
Fork. Nosetchualaya.
Fort. Wahkahoway.
Free. Otepayleta.
Frost. Thocatena.
Fry. Thothecatay.
Full. Quekamee.
Fawn. Macootelathey.
Farewell. Nepaukeche.
Flour. Locana.
Fowls. Cockalamothekay.
Friend. Neekanauh

Gorget. Coselamelouhqua.
Give. Meeleloh.
Good. Wessah.
Grog. Skepecothy.
Go. Puckechey.
Great. Mesaway.
Goose. Lekaw.
Going. Paukeche.
Gold. Othawa monee
Gone. Paukechey.
Grease. Pemee.
Green. Skeporscotto.
Ground. Assiskay.
Gun. Takewa.

Horse. Messawah.
Hunt. Halaway.
Hat. Petaukho.
Hard. Sepenwee.
High. Spemekea.
House. Wigwame.
Hot. Keesetay.
Handkerchief. Peltreway.
Hair. Weletha.
Hay. Pathea.
Hand. Olechey.
Hominy. Methequiatay.
Hawk. Peleethay.
Head. Weesay.
Heart. Teakee.
Help. Notamaweelo.
Hen. Queyatha.
Here. Youmoh.
Hero. Nehohto.
Hide. Keeketoloh.
Hole. Wasalacatwee.
He. Weela.
Horn. Petalwa.

Ice. Mequamah.
Impudent. Matta wessa.
Iron. Coopelayque.
Island. Menethe.
Itch. Pessepaupyea.
Indeed. Tepeloo.

Knife. Manethey.
Kettle. Cohqua.
Kind. Wessa.
King. Okeemaa.

Legs. Ocatchey.
Leggings. Mattatawalee.
Little. Matsquathay.
Lead. Awloolay.
Looking-glass. Wapatnooway.
Labor. Peatetheloo.
Lace. Moneewaykeptseca.
Lady. Wyakiquawa.
Lie. Nonhauchemaw.
Light. Watheyaw.
Linen. Popseahkee.
Long. Keenawaway.
Loss. Newaneto.
Love. Auhqualechekee.
Louse. Wopequa.

Man. Lenay.
Muskrat. Wesasqua.
Mink. Thepanalewetaw.
Moccasins. Mockeethena.
Mouth. Tonee.

Moon. Tepekekeeswa.
Me. Neela.
Make. Hosetopway.
Merry. Lamelewekechelesso.
Milk. Meleneyawpo.
Mountain. Watschekee.
Mamma. Nekkaen.
Mile. Quapekee.
Much. Metchey.
Meridian (12 o'clock). Lawahqua.
Maybe. Quahqua.

No. Matta.
Nose. Potsasey.
New. Oskenway.
Night. Tapahkay.
Name. Eseththo.
Needle. Saponeka.
Nobly. Wessa.
Noise. Wawonessetamekay.
Now. Enookay.

Offer. Ketatewa.

Paint. Welamoh.
Pain. Nekekeetethe.
Peace. Meloonehee.
Powder. Mockcottay.
Pipe. Ohquakay.
Pretty. Welethee.

Quart. Tepneeka.
Quick. Wetapee.
Quiet. Welonahee.

Ribbon. Pepakethakay.
Run (a water). Theepewithe.
River. Theepay.
Road. Meaway.
Rain. Kemewaney.
Ring. Kelechepethoway.
Red. Mesquaway.
Rough. Caassaw.
Raccoon. Othepottee.
Rifle. Pemahiatake.
Rum. Withocapay.
Rich. Pawaywa.

Saddle. Poppeeaway.
Sister. Theemathayquy, or, tootemat.
Smoke. Lewata.
Salt. Nepepemay.
Snake. Monetto.
Sleep. Nepaywah.
Sugar. Thenamesay.
Sober. Quatethe.
Seat. Opetakewaypay.
Snow. Cooney.
Stone. Seegriana.
Sun. Keesothy.
Scarlet. Masquaway.
Scold. Skeemah.
Shot. Pepquan.
Sing. Makamoola.
Silk. Silkee.
Stop. Neepawelo.
Strong. Wesecatewee.
Sick. Auhkaylookay.
Steal. Keemotwa.
Soap. Ketheneka.
Soldier. Saymacanekee.
Sorry. Matchelepo.
Stab. Possepoh.
Star. Alaqua.
Strike. Pehetahweelo.
Sweat. Weesatho.
Sweet. Weecanwee.
Swim. Lolopatheway.
Squirrel. Huneyqa.
Shirt. Papeeseauk.
Sunrise. Peatockwithama.
Sunset. Pucksemo.
Silver. Monee.
Sword. Keeskeca.
Swan. Wapethee.
Speak. Callaweelo.

Turkey. Paleawa.
Tomahawk. Teckhawk.
To-morrow. Wapakey.
To-night. Tapakey.
Thimble. Ketchetanekay.
Thighs. Cheequa.
Too much. Pothemeachy.
Tobacco. Athemah.
Teeth. Wepetalah.

Tree. Metahqua.
Town. Otayway.
Thank. Neeaway.
Talk. Hauchemou.

Very good. Allame wissah.
Very bad. Matta wissah.

Ugly. Mattawelethee.
Uncle. Neseetha.
Undress. Leekeeloh.
Understand. Notaway.

Woman. Auhquawan.
Water. Nepay.
Wood. Tahcoh.
Where. Tahne way.
When. Tanaway lawqua.
White. Wahcanaquah.
Woods. Peleskee.
Wampum. Pettawakay.
Warriors. Nenoptookey.
Wonder. Kanhaw.

You. Keela.
Young. Mianee.
Yesterday. Olagau.
Yes. Skeahla, or, aughaw.

I'm glad to see you. Awassolepo neneaway, or, newalah.
I'm glad. Nowassolepo.
I'm sorry. Wallamelawessalepo.
I'm going to hunt. Neehalaway.
I have been hunting. Neetapalawee
Will you hunt. Hakeypahalaway.
I want. Nowesaweletah.
I don't care. Callapache.
I am merry. Lamelewekechelesso.
I am poor. Ketemaneela.
I love you. Nenasewelemelay.
You love. Kenasewelemay.
I give. Nemeela.
I want to see you. Negwalemela.
I want drink. Naweesamenay.
I am hungry. Neetsqualaway.
I am full. Tepholoh.
I'll dance. Neehmeneelah.

I don't know. Kooque.
I think. Teacetay.
Young brother, or child. Theemakee.
Daylight. Allanawesauspanee.
This night. Tapaykay.
Fine day. Allamawissekesekey.
Very good. Allamewisso, or, wessah.
Great foot. Wanatethay.
Sit down. Lematapeloo.
Farewell. Nepaukechey.
Come back. Keewaylo.
You're healthy. Keewaconele.
Your health. Keewacomelay.
Bad weather. Matcheykeesek.
Will you go and hunt. Hakeepahalaway.
Stay a good while. Natame.
Great ways. Pelloway.
Not far. Mochachenehee.
Put wood on. Potawelote otahco.
Cut wood. Monthelo.
How many. Keathway.
Have none. Matalaqay.
Great many. Metcheay.
You love. Kenasewelemay.
You give. Keemeela.
My wife. Neewa.
Will you. Ketela.
Will you have. Okaymomay.
Have you got. Hockepoona.
My son. Nequatho.
My daughter. Ottanetha.
Where's your wife. Tanakaywa.
Will you smoke. Ockeepotetho.
Come with me. Wetemeloh.
You must. Papeach.
Come here. Peaalah.
Great many. Metchay
Great deal. Metchay.
Shut the door. Keephanso.
Very drunk. Alamawanetho.
Maybe. Queque.
You understand. Keelanotaway.
You lie. Keenanhotchemoh.
You say. Kee hotchemoh.
He says. Wela hotchemoh.
I want. Netuckawatah.
What you want. Wehewayketuckawatah.

NOTES.

"*The flag.*" (p. 214.)

To be assured that I was not wrong in my recollections of what was said by my father, in relation to the flag at Yorktown, I wrote to General Jesup on the subject, knowing that if there was any person living who could correct me, he was the one. General Jesup was not only the son-in-law of Major William Croghan, who served in the staff of Steuben, but he was also a connexion of Colonel Richard C. Anderson, an aid-de-camp of Lafayette. From General Jesup's very high rank in the army early in life, long before the death of these old officers, his intimate friends, I was sure that he must have conversed with them on a subject so much to his taste. The General was absent in Kentucky, and did not get my note until after the Memoir had been stereotyped. The following is his answer:

"Washington City, July 13, 1859.

"My dear Sir—Absence from the city prevented my receiving your letter of the 18th of last month until yesterday, and my reply may therefore be too late for the object you had in view; but late as it is, I will endeavor to give you the anecdote which you requested in regard to the Revolutionary Generals, Baron Steuben and the Marquis Lafayette, at the siege of Yorktown, the surrender of which closed the Revolutionary War. . . . . .

"Baron Steuben, inspector-general of the army, commanded in the trenches at Yorktown when the flag was received from Lord Cornwallis, commanding the British forces, proposing a capitulation. The proposition was sent to General Washington; commissioners were appointed to arrange the terms of surrender, and were engaged in discussing them, when General Lafayette, whose tour it was next to command in the trenches, marched with his division to relieve the Baron. The latter refused to be relieved, urging that having received the flag, the rules of European warfare secured him the right to retain the command until the negotiation should terminate either by the renewal of hostilities or the surrender of the place. General Lafayette appealed to Washington, who, after consulting Count Rochambeau, commander of the French auxiliary force, and other foreign officers, informed him the Baron was entitled to the command, and must retain it until the matters then under discussion should be decided.

"I had this anecdote from my father-in-law, the late Major William Croghan, of Kentucky, who at one period of the Revolution served in the staff of Baron Steuben, and from the late Colonel Richard Anderson, of the same State, who during the campaign in Virginia, which terminated with the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, was an aid of Lafayette.

With great regard, I remain, my dear sir,

Yours, truly,

TH. S. JESUP.

"Dr. WM. H. DENNY, Pittsburgh, Pa."

"*Tired rider.*" (p. 222.)

The late Mr. William Meredith, many years ago, entertaining at dinner a large party of gentlemen, (among whom I remember his brother-in-law, David C. Ogden,) by way of kindly noticing myself, who, except his son William, was much the youngest person present, took occasion to mention to his guests the first time that he had ever seen my father. "We were," said he, "several of us, young Philadelphians, supping, by invitation, with General Harmar, at his country seat on the Schuylkill. A servant informed our host that there was a gentleman on horseback who wished to see him. The General went out and immediately returned, bringing in a young stranger, who seemed pale, thin, and very much travel-worn and exhausted. He was an officer from the army, and gave us the first news of St. Clair's defeat."

"*The first glass works.*" (p. 228.)

The first glass works of Pittsburgh was erected by Messrs. O'Hara and Craig, in 1797, under the superintendence of Peter William Eichbaum, a German; for at this early period, in those enterprising establishments, the undertakers were obliged to seek for skill and experience amongst our European emigrants. The stone building was standing four or five years ago; its site below Jones' Ferry, on the Monongahela, nearly opposite the Point, is now occupied by other houses for the manufacture of glass. This first establishment made green glass. In a note of General O'Hara, found among his papers after his death, in his own handwriting, is the following remark: "To-day we made the first bottle at the cost of thirty thousand dollars." Ever since, during a period of sixty years, with intervals of depression in common with every other business, the glass manufacture has not ceased to flourish and enrich those engaged in it, until now it even claims to be the leading staple of the "Iron City."

"*Lafleur,*" (p. 228.)

The glass blower, concerned with Denny and Beelen in the glass works at the lower end of the present town of Manchester, was drowned in the Ohio not far above

the site of that place. As this poor Frenchman established the first factory there, indeed the first on that side of the river, Lafleur would have been a more appropriate name than Manchester — especially as there has never been a cotton factory in it— and would have given one example of a departure from that servile practice of adopting in our own country very inappropriate European names for our new and flourishing towns.

"*Denny & Beelen.*" (p. 228.)

In getting ready for the preface the desultory sketch or "Memoir," (which at first was intended to be written leisurely as a note for this appendix,) we omitted to mention that the late William B. Foster was, in 1806, a partner of Ebenezer Denny. Mr. Foster subsequently in the war in 1814, got great credit for patriotic personal sacrifices in the service as military storekeeper.

"*Branch Bank of Pennsylvania.*" (p. 229.)

In 1806 or 7, General Moreau and his aid-de-camp, Rapatelle, were at Pittsburgh, on their way to New Orleans. They were out of money. The gentlemen to whom they had letters, O'Hara, Woods and Neville, would have cheerfully supplied their wants; but General Moreau would not permit his aid-de-camp to apply to them. In this embarrassment, Rapatelle consulted an old fellow countrymen, formerly a wealthy planter in St. Domingo, who, from the wreck of a large fortune, kept a shop in Pittsburgh, for thirty years the tenant and next neighbor of Major Denny. Rouaud said, "Here is a receipt for Bologna sausages. Pork in this market is three cents a pound, less than half its price in France or Italy. Venison, which you can substitute for jackass meat, is only three and a half cents. *Allez! vous etes jeune et fort, travaillez!*" Rapatelle rolled up his sleeves—the buffalo packs of the Missouri Fur Company were cleared from the corner of the cellar (since famous for its whiskey), to make room for a chopping bench. Putting a white shirt over his Paris black coat, the gallant cavalier, with a cleaver in each hand, worked as if he really was the son of a butcher. Only one night there was a cessation of the eternal pounding; it was on the occasion of a ball at Spencer's tavern, corner of Second and Market streets, in the very room in which these types are being set. With the exception of that occasion, "the Count" worked every night at his sausages. When he had completed a wagon load he sent them to Baltimore, and drew on the house to which he consigned them. The Branch Bank discounted the bill, and the proceeds enabled the noble exiles to resume those wanderings which terminated at Leipsic and Montmartre.

"*Doctor Carmichael*" (p. 232.)

Went to Natchez, became wealthy, revisited his friends in Pittsburgh after many years—returned to Mississippi, and died a bachelor.

"*Colonel Monroe,*" (p. 262.)

Mentioned by Mr. Denny as his companion in one of the voyages down the Ohio, like a true and practical statesman, was even then awake to the importance of opening the navigation to the Gulf. His services subsequently in aiding to accomplish that object by the purchase of Louisiana, were recognized in public addresses by the population on the banks of the great river, when, thirty years after, they received him as the President of the United States.

"*Captain Ercureus Beatty.*" (p. 288.)

On leaving the service Pay-master Beatty settled at Trenton, New Jersey, and married the widow of Major William Ferguson, a distinguished artillery officer of the Revolution, who was killed at St. Clair's defeat.

"*Richard Butler.*" (p. 370.)

It is probable that in the action of the 4th of November, 1791, Richard Butler was not more severely wounded than his brother Major Thomas Butler, who was brought away with great difficulty and hazard by his younger brother Edward.

The five Butlers at the close of the Revolutionary War held the following grades: Richard and William were colonels, Thomas a captain, and Pierce and Edward lieutenants. Thomas commanded at Fort Fayette, during the Whiskey Insurrection; and although distinguished in that responsible command, was quite as well known subsequently for disobeying the order to cut off queues.

"*Colonel George Gibson,*" (p. 377.)

Mortally wounded at St. Clair's defeat, was the father of General George Gibson of the War Department, and of the late Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. He was the brother of General John Gibson (commonly called by his *nom de guerre*—"Horsehead,") the well-known Indian interpreter in Dunmore's war. Colonel George Gibson, besides being a gallant soldier, was an accomplished gentleman, a man of wit and fine imagination. Had *he*, instead of his brother, been at the treaty of Camp Charlotte, and present at the "delivery" of Logan's speech, that posthumous leaf from the plants of Sir William Johnston, might have been imputed to him.

"*General Irvine.*" (p. 385.)

William Irvine was one of the best of the five Revolutionary colonels (of Irish birth) who resided in that nursery of brave officers, Carlisle, and Cumberland county. His descendants reside at Brokenstraw, in Warren county, Pennsylvania.

"*Lieutenant Murphy.*" (p. 391.)

In August, 1849, three years before the death of this famous Indian hunter, I went into Armstrong county to see him, having heard my father say that "Samuel Murphy was the best soldier he ever knew;" which in his sense of the word implied truthfulness, honor, intelligence, as well as courage. I thought it possible Murphy might have been in Lord Dunmore's Expedition — probably its only survivor. He was living, where he had settled more than seventy years before, twelve miles below Kittanning, on the "Indian side" of the Allegheny, on his own tract of river bottom, which he had plowed for half a century, and often with a loaded rifle on his shoulder. I was taken by his two maiden daughters to the original cabin, a rod or two detached from the present family dwelling, where he sat on a chair in the middle of the puncheon floor, with his hat on, in his Sunday suit, which hung loosely upon him. It was evident that the noble and gigantic form was wasting away with age.

He said to his daughters who introduced me: "Is it Harmar?" After a minutes silence he remarked, "We encamped at Presqu' Isle the night your brother Harmar was born." As he spoke of that expedition I adverted to the accident on their return descending the Allegheny — when my father fell out from the bow of his perogue, and as the current swept him astern was caught by Murphy and lifted on board with one hand whilst he steered with the other. He quietly corrected me and said, "I was not steering — your father thought one of the men could steer better — I was amidships." For a man ninety-two years old his memory was most faithful—at least of occurrences in early and middle life. He was born in Frederick county, Virginia, in 1756, at a place called Bullskins: came to Fort Pitt the first time in 1772, to get a saddle which had been lent to Doctor Conolly. "It was then," said he, "that I first met your father; and passed the night with him at Turtle creek, on his return from Fort Pitt—at 'Granny Myers',' and not at Hannahstown, on his way going out, as you suppose. I knew him too well to think that he would have mentioned to me that he was a bearer of public dispatches, until after he had executed his mission and delivered his message." Murphy said that he accompanied the Earl of Dunmore's expedition as far as it proceeded. He described the Earl as "a large, full, red faced man — looked as if he lived high;" "was near him, when on foot among the men he came to the Hocking. Saw him step into the water and wade the river with the unconcern of an Indian — rejecting the offer of a young sergeant to carry him ever."

Murphy did not recollect Logan; "though," he said, "I must have seen him, as he was among the Indians in the neighborhood. He said he was not present at any reading of the speech at the Scioto treaty. But it was next day the talk of the camp, that Logan boasted he had killed many white men — had taken his revenge."

Murphy said, "I was well acquainted with John Gibson, served under him when he was colonel of the thirteenth regiment — have seen his Indian wife, Betty. I do not recollect his character for veracity."

On my way from Freeport and on the high bluff or river hill, overlooking "Murphy's Bend," I stopped and left my vehicle at John Craig's. Craig was in his ninety-seventh year. He told me that he was five years older than his neighbor Murphy. His mind and memory were nearly gone. He had belonged to what was called "the flying camp" — had been taken prisoner by the Indians, and confined in the same guard house on an island sixty miles above Montreal to which Murphy had been

carried by Simon Girty when he was checkmated on the Bear Grass. Craig used to tell the story that one quiet morning Murphy jumped to the ceiling of the guard room and gave the war-whoop. The British sentinel on duty had just said to him that if he would not mention it he would tell him something that would make him glad; on the promise being given, he whispered to him slowly — "Cornwallis is taken!"

"*Major Hamtramck.*" (p. 421.)

This excellent officer died, I believe, at Detroit where Major Denny, on his visit to that place, found him in command. Jesse B. Thomas, at one time a Senator from Illinois, married his widow.

"*Lieutenant Matthew Ernest.*" (p. 428.)

A mysterious fate subsequently attended this officer, whose position as commandant at Fort Pitt made him a frequent correspondent of General Harmar. He was commissioned in the New York militia, then by the President of Congress; and finally appointed by Washington, lieutenant of artillery. After his resignation he settled in Detroit; was collector and inspector of revenue in 1805, when that town was burnt. In the fall of that year he left home for Washington, thence went to New York; from which city several letters from him were received by his family at their residence, "Spring Wells." In the last he said he would leave in a few days "*for his home.*" Since then nothing has ever been heard of him.

"*Captain John Irwin,*" (p. 431.)

Whose residence was then in Pittsburgh; a gallant and severely wounded officer of the Revolution, whose descendants are now residents of Pittsburgh.

Indian Vocabulary. (p. 478.)

The original of the glossary here given is in the handwriting of Major Denny, and was got from the Indians assembled at the treaties — probably the Delaware dialect at Fort M'Intosh, and the Shawanee at Fort Finney. An interesting acquisition at the time was the Delaware Indian spelling book sent to General Harmar by David Zeisberger, Missionary of the Moravian Indians, from his residence on the river Huron.

Recollecting that the late Secretary of the Treasury, William M. Meredith, then a very young man, was sitting next to me at the table, when his father related the incident referred to in a preceding note, I wrote to a friend and correspondent in Philadelphia to ask Mr. Meredith if he remembered what was said. The following is the note in reply, and the answer of Mr. Meredith:

Philadelphia, 15th Sept., 1859.

My dear Dr. Denny—I acknowledged, last week, your letter of the 2d inst., stating what Mr. Meredith had said to me in conversation. I now have the pleasure to inclose a note from Mr. Meredith, which I only got last evening, too late to send by last night's mail.

Always, my dear sir,
Very truly yours,
Benjamin Rush.

Dr. Denny.

Mr. Meredith to Mr. Rush.

Philadelphia, 12th Sept., 1859

My dear Sir—I have read Dr. Denny's note to you, which I herewith return. I have frequently heard my father speak of having been, with other friends, at General Harmar's on the evening during which Major Denny arrived, bringing the first intelligence of St. Clair's defeat. General Harmar did not live at Norristown, but at his country seat in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Major Denny was the bearer of General St. Clair's dispatches, and my understanding was, that after delivering them to the commander-in-chief, he rode straight to General Harmar's, of whom he was an intimate friend, and had been, I think, his aid-de-camp.

My lamented friend, Harmar Denny, was named after him. Of course I need not speak of their relation to each other, as Dr. Denny must be familiar with it. My father always spoke with great feeling of the profound impression made upon himself (then a youth of nineteen) and the other guests, by the sudden entrance of Major Denny, travel-stained, worn and exhausted, and by his earnest and soldier-like narration of the battle, defeat and massacre, and description of the sufferings to which the inhabitants of the frontier were thereby exposed.

I am, with great esteem,
Very faithfully yours,

B. Rush, Esq. W. M. Meredith.

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Newhall, Thomas A.
Newkirk, Matthew
Newland, Edward
Norris, George W.
Norris, Isaac
Norris, Samuel
Notman, John

Ogden, Charles S.
Ogden, John M.
Okie, J. B.
Orne, James H.

Packer, E. A., New York
Palmer, Jonathan
Pardee, A., Hazleton, Pa.
Parrish, Charles, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Parrish, George D.
Parry, Richard Randolph, Mankato, Minnesota
Paschall, Robert S.
Patten, William
Patterson, Robert
Paul, Bettle
Paul, James
Paul James W.
Pawson and Nicholson
Paxton, Joseph R.
Peabody, George, London, England
Peirce, William S.
Pemberton, Israel
Penn, Granville John, London, England
†Pepper, Henry
Pepper, Lawrence S.
Peters, Francis
Phillips, Henry M.
Phillips, John
Platt, Jr., William
Pleasants, Samuel
Plitt, George
Poalk, Edward L.
Porter, David R., Harrisburg, Pa.
Porter, William A.
Powers, Thomas H.
Preston, Paul S., Stockport, Pa.
Price, Eli K.
Price, Richard
Priestley, Joseph R., Northumberland, Pa.
†Primrose, William
Purves, William
Putnam, George P., New York

Randall, Josiah
Randolph, Evan
†Randolph, Nathaniel
Rau, Edward H.
Rauch, John H., Burlington, Iowa
Reed, William B.
Reeves, Samuel J.
Remington, Thomas P.
Repplier, George S., Pottsville, Pa.
Repplier, John G.
†Repplier, Joseph M.
Resor, Jacob, Cincinnati
Rice, John
Richardson, Richard
Riggs, George W., Washington, D. C.
Ritter, Jacob B.
Robbins, Jr., John
Roberts, George H.
Roberts, Solomon W.
Roberts, William R.
Robins, Thomas
Robinson, Hanson, Woolton, New Castle Co., Delaware
Roepper, Wm. Theodore, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Rogers, Alfred W.
Rogers, Charles H.
Rogers, Fairman
Ross, Andrew
Ross, M. A., Addison, Somerset Co., Pennsylvania
Ross, William S., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Rowland, Joseph Galloway, Quincy, Illinois
Rowland, William
Rupp, I. Daniel, Harrisburg, Pa.
†Rutter, R. L.
Ryerss, Joseph W.

Sabin, Joseph, Chestnut Hill, Philada.
Sanford, E. S.
Sargent, Winthrop
Schenley, Mary, Prince's Gate, Hyde Park, London, England

Scott, Lewis A.
Scull, G. D.
Seal, Joseph H.
Seltzer, J. H., Reading, Pa.
Sergeant, J. Dickinson
Sergeant, Thomas
Sergeant, William
Sexton, John W.
Sharp, Joseph W.
Sharpless, Henry H. G.
Sharpless, Samuel J.
Sharswood, George
Sheafer, Peter W. Pottsville, Pa.
Sheppard, Furman
Shipley, Augustus B.
Shipley, Joseph, Rockwood, New Castle Co., Del.
Shippen, Franklin
Shippen, William
Shober, Samuel L.
Sinclair, Thomas
Slocum, J. J., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Smedley, Samuel L.
Smith, Aubrey H.
Smith, A. Lewis
Smith, Beaton
Smith, Charles H.
Smith, Davis R.
Smith, Elwood M.
Smith, Jesse E., Wind-Lawn, Philadelphia
Smith, Joseph P.
Smith, J. Prescott, Baltimore
Smith, Marshall B.
Smith, Newberry A.
Smith, Richard S.
Smith, Robert P., Germantown
Snowden, James Ross
Snyder, George W., Pottsville, Pa.
Sower, Ch. G.
Spackman, John B.
Spangler, C. E.
Sparks, Thomas
Spencer, Howard
Spooner, Edwin
Sproat, Harris L.
Steever, Henry D.
Stewart, William H.
Stillé, Alfred
Stillé, Charles J.
Stocker, Anthony E, Germantown, Pa.
Stone, James N.
Stuart, George H.
Stoddart, Curwen
Struthers, William
Sully, Thomas
Swift, Joseph

Taggart, William H.
Tasker, Thomas T.
Thomas, David, Catasaqua, Pa.
Thomas, John Dover
Thomas, Joseph M.
Thomas, Martin
Thomas, William B.
Thomson, J. Edgar
Thompson, Oswald
†Toland, Henry
Townsend, Henry C.
Traquair, James
Trautwine, John C.
Trotter, Charles W.
Trotter, Joseph H.
Trotter, Newbold H.
Trotter, Wm. Henry
Trump, Daniel
Tucker, John
Turnbull, William P.
Turnpenny, Joseph C.
Tyler, George F.
Tyson, James
Tyson, James L.
†Tyson, J. R.

Valentine, Robert
Van der Kemp, John J.
Van Rensselaer, Cortlandt, Burlington, N. J.
†Van Syckel, James J.
Verree, John P.

Wagner, Charles M.
Wagner, Samuel, York, Pa.
Walker, Jerry
Wallace, John William
Waln, S. Morris
Ward, Townsend
†Warder, Benjamin H.
†Warner, Joseph
Warner, Redwood F.
Weber, Paul
Webster, David
Webster, Jr., Thomas
Weightman, William
Welsh, John
Welsh, Samuel
Wetmore, Henry C., Fishkill Landing, Duchess County, N. Y.
Wharton, George M.
Wharton, Joseph
†Wharton, Thomas I.
Whitall, John M.
White, J. Claude, Swatara, Pa.
Whiteman, William A.
Whiting, William, Boston
Whitney, Asa

Wicht, William V.
Wight, Jr., Andrew
Wilcocks, Alexander
Wilkins, William, Homewood, Allegheny Co., Pa.
Willcox, Mark
Williams, Henry J.
Williams, James W.
Wilson, John H., St. Louis, Mo.
Wilson, Oliver Howard
Wilson, Thomas B.
Wilson, William S.
Winthrop, Robert C., Boston
Wistar, Mifflin
Wistar, Richard
Wister, Caspar
Witte, William H.
Womrath, F. K.
Wood, George A.
Wood, George B.
Wood, James F.
Wood, Richard
Woodward, Harry Conrad
Woodward, Warren J., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Workman, Henry Weir
Worrell, James C.
†Wynkoop, Francis M.

Yarnall, Charles
†Yarnall, Edward
Yarnall, Ellis
Yarnall, Francis C.
Yost, J. S., Pottstown, Pa.

Zeigler, George K.

